



NARRATIVE  
OF  
MY CAPTIVITY  
IN  
JAPAN,

DURING THE YEARS 1811, 1812 & 1813;

WITH  
OBSERVATIONS

REFERENCE

ON THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE.

BY  
CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN, R. N.

*To which is added*

AN ACCOUNT OF  
VOYAGES TO THE COASTS OF JAPAN,

AND OF  
Negotiations with the Japanese,

FOR THE

RELEASE OF THE AUTHOR AND HIS COMPANIONS,

BY CAPTAIN RIKORD.

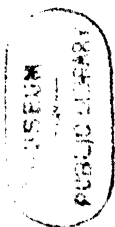
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# P R E F A C E

## REFERENCE

THAT the nations of Europe are little acquainted with Japan, is a fact generally known. There was indeed a time, when, ignorant of European cupidity, the Japanese opened their harbours to navigators from this quarter of the world, and every kind of information was permitted to be collected ; but the accounts of the country, which were, then written, are so marked by contradictions, that complete credibility can, in no respect, be attributed to them. Besides, so long a period has elapsed since the Japanese shut their ports against Europeans, that, according to the natural course of things, many important changes must have taken place, and consequently Japan cannot now be what it then was. The merchants of Holland, who trade to Nangasaky, though their communications with the inhabitants are very circumscribed, have doubtless, from their knowledge of the Japanese language, had the opportunity of collecting much interesting information ; but it is well known that the Dutch think it necessary to keep secret descriptions and charts, even of countries with which other and better informed European Nations have

intercourse, and respecting which those nations freely make known their most circumstantial observations. Hence no account of Japan, to which they are the only European people who have for a long period had admission, is to be expected from them. Information therefore on the subject of that country cannot but be interesting to every enlightened mind.

These considerations have induced me to communicate to the world the occurrences which took place, during my imprisonment among the Japanese, which perhaps would not otherwise have merited the attention of the public. Whoever reads my Narrative will perceive how very limited were my means of observing all that is requisite for the description of an extensive and almost unknown country, and consequently will excuse the brevity of my remarks on a subject which treated in detail might have afforded materials for many volumes.

Had I, like some travellers, wished to augment the size of this work, I might easily, under the title of introduction or preliminary dissertation, have composed a large volume from other books, which have long since been written respecting Japan, and which are well known to all learned readers; but I describe only what came within my own observation and experience, and report only what I saw with my own eyes.

W. G.

# NARRATIVE

OF

## CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN

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### CHAPTER I.

IN April, 1811, I had the command of the imperial sloop of war, *Diana*, which then lay at Kamtschatka,\* where I received an order from the minister of the marine, directing me to survey, in the most minute manner, the Southern Kurile and Shantar Islands,† and the coast of Tartary, from latitude 53° 38' north to Okotzk.

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\* In 1807, the *Diana* was, by a special order, dispatched under my command on a particular expedition from Cronstadt. The most important object of this expedition was to explore the coast of Eastern Russia, which is so imperfectly known to navigators. In 1809, the *Diana* arrived at Kamtschatka, and sailed in 1810 to the western coast of North America. I consider it necessary to give an account of these voyages in a separate publication, as a work chiefly composed of nautical and astronomical observations, and other details connected with navigation, could not be interesting to general readers, and would, indeed, be unintelligible to many. The present work is, however, suited to readers of every class, and on account of the novelty of the subject, equally worthy of the curiosity of all.

† The latter lie to the south of the main land of Siberia, opposite to the mouth of the river Ud.—Respecting their discovery, see Müller's *Samml. Russ. Geschichte*, 3r. band. s. 96.

The minister's dispatch referred to two papers, containing a copious detail of the instructions I was to follow, which had been forwarded by the board of Admiralty at the same time as his order. These papers, however, I did not receive, and according to the arrangements of the post-office, they could not, as will appear from the following explanation, reach Kamtschatka before autumn. In the course of the winter, three posts are dispatched from Okotzk to Kamtschatka. The last which arrived at Petropaulowskoi (the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul) on the 20th of April, did not bring me the papers, and consequently they had not reached Okotzk when the post left that place. But as the post departs only once a month from St. Petersburg for Okotzk, the papers, if brought there by the next arrival, would have to be sent off to me one month after the departure of the third post; this too would be precisely the time when the snow melts, the rivers overflow their banks, and a complete interruption of communication takes place in these countries. It was, besides, impossible, on the re-opening of the navigation, to send the papers by sea from Okotzk, as there was then no vessel in that harbour, all the transports having wintered in Kamtschatka. To obtain the papers in course of the summer, there remained then no other means except that of sailing myself with the sloop to Okotzk. The commander of that harbour, the captain of second rank, Minitzky, had indeed advised me to

come to Okotzk before the commencement of the expedition, as he, according to what he stated in his letter, presumed that the sloop must be in want of provisions and repairs, which could be obtained in that harbour. With respect to the latter, I observed no damage which I could not repair with my own people ; but as to the provisions, there was really a considerable deficiency compared with the established rate of supply. I took, therefore, from the transport *Dionysius*, which had wintered at Petropaulowskoi, what provisions remained on board that vessel, and I calculated that, with this addition to the stock of the *Diana*, I should be able to keep at sea three months, without incurring any risk of short allowance. I had thus no reason for going to Okotzk before the commencement of the expedition, except that of obtaining possession of the two papers with my instructions which had been forwarded by the Admiralty. This was, doubtless, a motive of considerable weight ; the pleasure of His Imperial Majesty had, however, been fully made known to me, by the order of the minister of the marine. I knew what coasts I had to explore, and that the result of my investigations ought to be detailed with the greatest accuracy ; but in what particular manner, and to what degree of minuteness I was to execute the duty imposed on me, were circumstances respecting which the Admiralty dispatch would doubtless have served as an explanation and a guide. Though that

dispatch could be regarded only as a supplement to the order I had already received, the papers referred to might contain directions, the want of which would expose me to the risk of leaving considerable chasms in my survey, both on account of the insufficiency of my personal experience, and of my being necessarily destitute of the extensive information which the Admiralty Department possessed respecting the seas I had to visit. I deeply regretted that I had not received those papers along with the minister's order, and foresaw all the difficulties which might arise from the want of them. On the other hand, however, I perceived that the result of any endeavour to obtain them now would only be loss of time, injury to the public service, and the absolute impossibility of accomplishing any thing which might compensate for so much expense and trouble. In a word, had I sailed to Okotzk, the summer and consequently the whole year must have elapsed without the slightest advantage to the expedition. This opinion was grounded on the following considerations.

First; I reflected that, after calculating the season at which my passage to Okotzk would be practicable, I had to add to that period the necessary time for laying in provisions, fresh water, wood, &c. for a long voyage from Okotzk to the Kurile Islands: consequently, with the greatest exertions and most favourable wind, I

could not have reached the place where my investigations were to commence, until the month of July: the months of May and June would therefore have been completely lost.

Secondly; the state of the sloop, and in some measure that of the crew, rendered it absolutely necessary that we should pass the winter in a harbour, where the vessel might be cleansed and repaired;—for, since my departure from Cronstadt, in the year 1807, no opportunity had occurred for taking out the ballast or stores, in order to see what repairs were requisite for the hull; and the ill-built store-houses of Petropaulowskoi are insufficient for the accommodation of the garrison, and there are no buildings for other purposes.—Thus, unless we went into port, the stores of every kind must have remained another winter in the vessel, where swarms of rats already made the greatest havoc among the provisions, sails, woollen-cloth, casks, and every thing within their reach.

Besides, the men were in want of clothes; their shoes and stockings were completely worn out, and they required to be entirely new clothed, which could not possibly be done without going into Okotzk harbour. These circumstances required that I should winter in Okotzk, which it was necessary I should enter by the latter end of September, or at the latest the beginning of October. There remained therefore only three months for the duty I had to execute, and these were (with



the exception of July) the most unfavourable for the expedition.

All navigators who have sailed in the seas I had to traverse, complain of the cloudy weather and excessively thick fogs, which prevented them from approaching the coasts, and consequently from making any observations upon them. In the foregoing year, when I returned from America to Kamtschatka along the chain of the Kurile Islands, I was convinced by experience of the truth of this complaint. Besides the continual mists that arise from the water, and totally conceal the coasts and islands, navigators have to encounter other difficulties of a still greater and more dangerous description: the currents met with among the Aleute and Kurile Islands run with extraordinary violence, and the depth of water, even in the neighbourhood of these islands, is so great, that at a distance of only three miles from land no bottom can be found, after sounding with a line of one hundred and fifty or two hundred fathoms. In these seas, therefore, no reliance can be placed on the lead, which in general affords a certain indication of the proximity of land. I was perfectly aware of all these circumstances, and was consequently impressed with the necessity of chusing the most favourable time for the execution of my enterprise. For this purpose I perused the published accounts of the voyages of the most celebrated navigators, who have visited the quarter to which I was about to

proceed, and from that perusal I collected the following information.

On the 9th of October, 1779, (N. S.), the English ships *Resolution* and *Discovery*, which, after the death of Captains Cook and Clerk, were commanded by Captain Gore, sailed from the Bay of Awatska, with the view, in addition to the discoveries which were the object of their voyage, to explore the chain of the Kurile Islands. They, however, succeeded in seeing only the first and second islands, namely, Shoomska and Paramousier; a violent westerly wind having prevented them from approaching the others, notwithstanding their most strenuous endeavours. The first land they had sight of, after these two islands, was the eastern coast of Japan, latitude  $40^{\circ} 05'$ , which they descried on the 26th of October.

Captain Gore did not, however, relinquish his plan of visiting the southern Kurile Islands, but violent storms prevented him from putting his design into execution. He left the Bay of Awatska in the end of September (N. S.). Hence I inferred that the months of September and October are by no means favourable for nautical observations on the Kurile Islands.

In the middle of August, 1787, La Perouse sailed between the Peninsula of Sagaleen and the Island of Matsmai, through the strait which has since borne his name. Between Cape Aniwa and

Cape Trou, on the Island of Staatenland,\* which he descried on the 19th of August, he saw no other islands except the Company's-land† and Ma-reekan‡, between which he sailed. This strait he named *La Boussole*, after his own frigate. But the continued thick fogs prevented him from making further observations on the Kurile Islands, and he was compelled to abandon his design, and to direct his course to Kamtschatka, which he did on the 1st of September (O. S.).

Captain Sarytscheff,§ in his account of his voyage to the north-eastern parts of Siberia, on the Frozen and the Eastern Oceans, says that he sailed from the Bay of Awatska on the 6th of August (O. S.) 1792, for the purpose of visiting the Korean Sea. He steered S. W. along the Kurile Islands, but owing to the thick fogs, he did not discover land until the 20th. In latitude  $47^{\circ} 28'$ , he perceived what he supposed to be the Island of Ma-reekan and some others, but thick mists prevented him from observing them closely, and he was ultimately obliged to give up his design and to return to Okotzk. On his return he perceived the seventh island and the peak of the twelfth, and further on, the southern coast of the second is-

\* Eetooroop or Eetoorpoo; the nineteenth Kurile Island.

† Ooroop; the eighteenth Kurile Island.

‡ Seemoossier; the sixteenth Kurile Island.

§ Now Vice-Admiral.

land, and the summits of the three volcanoes on the fifth; but they were almost constantly enveloped in mist, and he was consequently unable to fix their geographical situations.

In the year 1796, the English Captain, Broughton, quitted Vulcan's Bay, on the southern side of Matsmai, and sailed along the eastern coast of the same island; he then passed between Kunashier and Eetooroop, the former of which he conceived to be a portion of Matsmai. He continued his course along the north-western coast of the Island Eetooroop (Staatenland), but of which he merely saw the first half, and the north-east extremity, without being aware that these were parts of one and the same island. He then sailed along the western coast of Oorooop (Company's-land) and Seemoossier (Mareekan), and reached the Island Ketoi. Thence he returned along the southern coasts of Oorooop, Eetooroop and Kunashier, without being able to make any observations, though he anxiously wished to ascertain correctly the situation of islands as yet so imperfectly known. Fogs, violent winds and weather, upon the whole very unfavourable, prevented him from carrying his design into execution. Capt. Broughton's cruise, among the southern Kurile Islands, took place in the month of October.

Captain Krusenstern, who, in the year 1805, returned to Kamtschatka from Japan, was among the Kurile Islands during the latter end of May and beginning of June. On his passage to the

Peninsula of Sagaleen, he also sailed through these islands in the early part of July, and again, on his return, in the end of August (N. S.). This I learned from his atlas, which I obtained, along with some other charts, from the under-pilot Kuritzyn, who had commanded a vessel belonging to our American Company ; but not having read the second part of Captain Krusenstern's Voyage, I had no knowledge of the weather he had experienced among these islands.

In addition to the information thus obtained from the above celebrated navigators, who served me as a council on the subject of my enterprise, I endeavoured also to discover persons in Kamtschatka, who had made voyages to the islands I was directed to examine, and questioned them with the greatest strictness on every point of importance. But what sort of information could I derive from men so ignorant in navigation, and, above all, so limited in their excursions, as the popes and pelt-hunters of Kamtschatka, who merely go to the nearest inhabited Kurile Island with the officers who collect the yassak (or tribute). They only knew that there were some bright days in summer, but how often and how long they continued, and particularly in what places they experienced that favourable weather, were circumstances of which they could give no account. It was merely during the passage and in the straits that they paid any attention to the changes of the

wind ; when once on the Kurile Islands, they cared little for the state of the atmosphere or any meteorological phenomena. To make booty and collect the yassak were their sole objects. An under-pilot, named Andrejeu, a man whose knowledge in his profession was not altogether despicable, and who had been at the Kurile Islands with Lieutenant Chwostoff, on board one of the company's vessels, during the beginning of June, assured me that the weather was then favourable. In the preceding year, I had sailed from Kamtschatka to America in June, and returned in August and September. At both periods we had rough and hazy weather, and the horizon was constantly covered with heavy clouds. All, therefore, that has been stated respecting the weather in the Eastern Ocean, convinced me that fogs might be considered as proper to that sea, that they prevail there in all months without exception, though in some more frequently than in others, and that there was in no season good and clear weather for more than a week together. I perceived also that to survey so extensive a chain of islands and coast as was prescribed to me, would require an entire summer from the beginning of May until October. Besides it would be necessary to keep the land at all times as hard on board as possible, in order, as soon as the fog dispersed, to approach the coast more closely. It might therefore happen that a full investigation

could not be completed in three years. On all these grounds and considerations, I felt convinced that it was necessary to proceed as speedily as possible to the execution of my mission.

I will now briefly state the plan I intended to follow. I resolved to sail direct from Kamtschatka to the Strait of Nadeschda between the Islands Matua and Rashaua, and to regulate my chronometer according to their situation\*, in case I should find no opportunity for lunar observations. I then proposed to steer along the southern coasts of the Kurile Islands, and to commence my observations with the Island of Ketoi, which had not been seen by the Nadeschda, and so on with every island in succession until I arrived at Matsmai; next to sail between the Islands Eetooroop and Matsmai, and to explore the whole northern coasts of the latter until I should reach La Perouse's Straits; thence, keeping the Peninsula of Sagaleen in view, to steer to the spot ( $53^{\circ} 30'$  latitude) whence my investigation of the Tartar coast was to commence; with which, as well as my observations on the Shantar Islands, I hoped to be ready towards the latter end of the summer.

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\* Captain Krusenstern had a close view of these islands, and gave the name of Sarytscheff's Peak to the volcano on the Island of Matua. I therefore concluded that he had fixed their geographical situation with the utmost accuracy. By calculating their longitude also, according to our chronometer, we could, on obtaining his work, in case we should have made no lunar observations, ascertain the difference of our reckoning.

Having thus determined on my plan, I immediately set about preparing every thing for my departure. I opened for myself a passage through the ice, and on the 25th of April got the sloop out from Petropaulowskoi to Awatscha Bay. On the 4th of May we weighed anchor and put to sea.

On the 14th of May I reached Nadeschda Strait, the place, whence, according to the plan I had laid down, I was to commence my observations. I will not here detain the reader by giving an account of my cruize among the Kurile Islands, or the nature of my investigation, as I have devoted a particular work to that object.

It is sufficient to say, that previous to the 17th of June, the first day of our accidental communication with the Japanese, notwithstanding the impediments of thick fogs and violent irregular currents, we succeeded in making observations on the following islands: the 13th Rashaua\*, the 14th Oosheessier†, the 15th Ketoit‡, the 16th Seemoosier or Mareekan, the 17th the two Tschirpoi and Macantar and the western coast of the 18th Ooroop.

I think it proper, however, before I proceed to describe the treatment we received from the Japanese, and the unfortunate occurrences which

\* On Captain Krusenstern's chart these islands are improperly named:—This is called Matua.

† Called Ruschaua.      ‡ Called Oosheester.



ensued, to state all I then knew respecting the political relations between Russia and Japan.

About thirty years ago, a Japanese merchantman was wrecked on the Aleute Island Amtshitka. The crew of the vessel and the commander, whose name was Rodai, were saved and taken to Irkutsk, where these unfortunate Japanese lived about ten years. At the end of that period, the Empress Catharine gave orders that they should be conveyed back to their native country; and that advantage should be taken of that opportunity to ascertain whether some commercial relations, beneficial to both countries, might not be established between Russia and Japan. The orders received on this occasion by General Pihl, Governor in Chief of Siberia, are worthy of particular attention. He was expressly instructed to send as envoy to Japan, a person of rather inferior rank, bearing presents in his own (General Pihl's) name, as governor of a frontier province, but by no means in the name of the Empress; it was further ordered that the commander of the vessel employed on this occasion should neither be a native of England nor Holland. In obedience to these instructions Governor Pihl appointed Lieutenant Laxman envoy, who embarked on board the transport Catharina, commanded by the pilot Lowzoff, and sailed in the autumn of 1792, from Okotzk to Japan. Laxman landed on the northern coast of the Island of Matsmai, and passed the winter in the little Harbour of Nemuro.

In the following summer, in conformity with the desire of the Japanese, he entered Chakodade Harbour, which is situated on the southern coast of Matsmai, near the Straits of Sangar, from whence he travelled by land to Matsmai, which is three days' journey to the west of Chakodade. Here he entered into negotiations with officers sent from the capital, in consequence of which the Japanese Government issued a declaration to the following effect:—

1st. Although the Japanese laws ordain that all foreigners who may land upon any part of the coasts of Japan, the Harbour of Nangasaky excepted, shall be seized and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, the penalties inflicted by the said laws shall not be enforced against the Russians in the present instance, as they were ignorant of the existence of such statutes, and have brought with them Japanese subjects whom they had saved on their own coasts; and they shall be permitted, without let or molestation, to return immediately to their native country, on this condition, however, that they never again approach any part of Japan, except Nangasaky, even though Japanese subjects should be driven on the coast of Russia, otherwise the law shall be executed in its fullest force:

2d. The Japanese Government returns thanks for the conveyance of its subjects to their native country; but at the same time informs the Russians that they may either leave them, or take them back

again, as they shall think fit; for, according to the Japanese laws, such persons cannot be forcibly detained, since those laws declare that men belong to that country on which their destiny may cast them, and in which their lives have been protected.

3d. With regard to negotiations for commercial arrangements, the Japanese can admit of no relations of that sort any where except in the harbour of Nangasaky; for that reason they gave Laxman, for the present, merely a written certificate, on producing which a Russian vessel might enter that harbour, where would be found Japanese officers furnished with full powers to treat further with the Russians on this matter.

Having received this declaration, Laxman returned to Okotzk in the autumn of 1793. From his account it appears that the Japanese treated the Russians with the greatest civility and courtesy, shewed them every mark of honour in a way conformable to the customs of their country, maintained at their own expense the officers and crew during the whole time they remained on the Japanese coasts, provided them at their departure with provisions, for which they refused to accept of any payment, and made them various presents. He only regretted that, owing to the strict execution of the laws, the Japanese would never permit them to go freely about the town, but kept a constant watch upon them. I cannot divine why the Empress did not, immediately on Laxman's return,

dispatch a vessel to Naugasaky; probably the commencement of the French Revolution, which, at that period, disturbed the peace of Europe, occasioned her to neglect this opportunity.

In the year 1803 the Chamberlain Resanoff was sent to Japan by the present reigning Monarch. The public have learned the details of that expedition from Captain Krusenstern's narrative; from which I also collected my information on the same subject, having, as I have already observed, read the first volume before my departure from Kamtschatka. I therefore knew that, in the declaration which the Japanese Government communicated to Resanoff, it was notified that no Russian ship would be permitted to approach the coasts of Japan, and that in case the subjects of that country were driven by storms on the coasts of Russia, they were to be conveyed home in Dutch and not in Russian vessels. On his return to Kamtschatka, Resanoff sailed to America in one of the American Company's ships, commanded by Lieutenant Chwostoff. He returned to Okotzk with the same officer, and was travelling through Siberia on his way to St. Petersburg when he fell ill and died. Chwostoff, however, put to sea again and attacked the Japanese villages on the Kurile Islands. Further information on this subject may be found in Vice-Admiral Schiskoff's preface to the voyages of Chwostoff and Davydoff. Were Resanoff and Chwostoff still living, we should

probably have ample explanations respecting the proceedings of the latter ; but as it is, we ought, in obedience to the old rule, to say nothing but good of the dead ! I must observe, however, that I have been informed our government was dissatisfied with the conduct of this officer.

Having received orders to visit the Southern Kurile Islands, and being aware that some of them were in the possession of the Japanese, I endeavoured to collect all the information in my power respecting Chwostoff's proceedings in those seas. For this purpose I examined a pilot who had accompanied him on his cruize ; and I was convinced, by that man's declaration, that the two attacks on the Japanese were unwarrantable arbitrary acts, and that they had not the slightest ground for supposing the hostilities of two insignificant vessels authorised by the sovereign of a country, the power and greatness of which must have been known to them from the descriptions of their countrymen who had lived many years in Russia. The account given by this pilot fully corresponded with what I had heard when I first arrived at Kamtschatka, from an officer of the company, named Massnikoff, who had been attached to Chwostoff's expedition. But notwithstanding the opinion I had thus formed, I resolved, unless superior orders should otherwise direct, to hold no intercourse with the Japanese. My determination was to sail without any

flag in the neighbourhood of the islands belonging to them, in order to avoid exciting either fear or doubt in the minds of this distrustful people. But Providence was pleased to ordain otherwise, and probably for the better.

Such, as far as I have above explained, was the state of the relations between Russia and Japan, at the time when the duty I had to perform required me to approach the coasts of those islands which are under the dominion of the Japanese. And I now proceed to the most important part of my Narrative.

On the afternoon of the 17th of June we found ourselves very near the western coast of the northern extremity of the Island of Eetoorpoo, though we were not immediately aware that the land we saw formed a part of that island. On the contrary, that extremity appeared to us like a separate island ; for the Bay of Sana, which extends very far in land, resembles a channel, and on Captain Broughton's chart this part of the coast is not defined, he not being certain whether the opening formed a strait or a bay. In order to remove all doubt, we approached within three Italian miles of the land. We soon descried several huts, and two large baidares, in which were several persons sailing to and from the shore. Under the supposition that the island was peopled by Kuriles, I dispatched midshipman Moor, accompanied by the under-pilot Nawitzky in an armed boat of

four oars, in order to make observations on the island and whatever they could discover. I soon observed a baidare sailing towards them from the shore, and not knowing what kind of reception they might meet with from the natives, I immediately ran the sloop close in the shore, and along with a midshipman, named Jakuschkin, got on board another armed boat, of four oars also, to hasten to their assistance. In the meanwhile the baidare had come up to our first boat, and having put about they both rowed towards the shore, which I likewise reached in a short time after them.

On stepping ashore I beheld to my astonishment that Mr. Moor was engaged in conversation with some Japanese. He informed me that some of our Kuriles, belonging to the thirteenth island, (Raschaua), who had been driven here by storms in the preceding summer, were still on this island ; and that the Japanese having kept them prisoners for about a year, had at length resolved to liberate them and send them home. These Kuriles had been sent out by the Japanese to meet the boat, to enquire what induced us to approach their coasts, and likewise state to him that the Japanese were apprehensive of our designs, and to entreat that we would not set foot on shore. I was exceedingly astonished at hearing this ; and asked Moor, with great dissatisfaction, how he, after the Kuriles had stated this to him, could dare, of his own accord, and without any order from me,

to go on shore with a handful of men among a people so hostile to us, and why he had not immediately turned back and communicated to me what the Kuriles had said to him. He justified himself by saying he was fearful I might have ascribed such conduct to cowardice, and have sent another officer to the island in his stead ; adding, that such a disgrace would have been irretrievable and would have rendered his life a burden to him. Though this reason was far from being valid, yet I was convinced that the rash conduct of this officer arose solely from want of reflection, and I did not say another word to him on the subject. Mr. Moor pointed out to me the Japanese commander, who was standing on the shore, at some distance from his tent. He was surrounded by about eighteen or twenty men, in full military dress and armed with guns and sabres. Each of these men held the butt ends of their muskets with the left hand, but without any kind of regularity ; in the right they held two small lighted matches. I saluted the commander, after the manner of my own country, with a bow ; which he returned by raising his right hand to his forehead and bending his whole body towards me. We conversed by means of two interpreters, namely, one of his soldiers, who understood the Kurile language, and one of our Kuriles who could speak a little Russian. The Japanese chief began by asking—" For what reason we had come among them ?—If with a view



to trade, with no base designs upon them,\* we might sail further along the coast until we got behind the volcano, where Oorbeetsh, the most productive part of the island, was situated." I replied, "That we wished to find a safe harbour for our ship, where we might procure a supply of wood and water of which we were greatly in want; that upon this being obtained we would immediately leave their coasts;† that they had besides nothing to fear from us, as our sloop was an imperial ship and not a merchantman; and that, in fact, we had not visited their islands with the intention of doing them any injury whatever." Having listened attentively to my explanation, he said—"The Japanese cannot be entirely tranquil and free from apprehension on the appearance of a Russian ship, for some years ago Russian vessels twice attacked the Japanese villages, and carried off or burnt every

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\* Our Interpreter expressed the question thus—Are you come in bad or in good understanding to us?

† I put this forward as the main reason of our coming there, in order that, under the pretence of seeking an anchoring place, we might sail round the whole island, and examine the coast with the greatest possible attention. The real motive of our visit could, however, on no account, be disclosed. It would have been impossible to have made such a people as the Japanese comprehend how a state completely foreign to them, could be induced, by mere curiosity, and without having some secret design in view, to fit out ships to explore distant countries, and the avowal of such an object would certainly have farther exposed us to their suspicion.

thing they found, without sparing the houses, temples, or provisions. Rice, which is brought from Japan to these islands, forms the principal food for the inhabitants; but the first attack having taken place late in autumn, when no vessels could be sent to sea to bring back a fresh supply for winter, and the second having followed early in spring, before the usual rice ships could arrive, these circumstances, joined to the destruction of their houses, caused great distress to the Japanese, many of whom fell sacrifices to hunger and cold." With such awkward interpreters as our Kuriles were, it was not an easy matter to vindicate ourselves against so serious a charge. I studied, however, to render my ideas quite intelligible to them, and begged that they would endeavour to re-state what I said with the greatest exactness. I then asked the Japanese commander, what number of ships and men his sovereign would send out against a people on whom he wished to make war.—He answered that he did not know.—“Would he send five or ten?” said I.—“No, no,” replied he, laughing, “he would fit out a great number, a very great number.”—Upon receiving this answer, I said: “How then can the Japanese believe that the Emperor of Russia, the sovereign of so great and powerful a nation, would send only two small vessels to carry on war against the Japanese? This consideration ought to be sufficient to convince them that the vessels which at-

tacked them were mere merchantmen, the crews of which were not in the service of the Emperor of Russia but of men whose only object was trade and pelt-hunting. The Japanese had been attacked and plundered without the authority and without the knowledge of even the lowest Russian officer, but as soon as the offence became known, the affair was investigated and the offenders punished conformably to our laws. As a proof that the Russian Government had entertained no hostile intention, it was sufficient to mention, that after two successful attacks had been made, no ship had, for the space of five years, returned to these islands. Had, however, our Monarch any reason or wish to make war on the Japanese, he would send every year large squadrons against them, until the object he had in view should be accomplished."

The Japanese chief, whose countenance now brightened up, assured me that he was glad to hear this from me, that he believed all I had stated, and was satisfied. He asked, however, where the two men were whom Chwostoff had carried off with him. I told him they had fled from Okotzk, in a boat, and had not since been heard of.—Finally, he informed us that we could neither get wood nor good water at that part of the island (which we saw evidently enough), but that at Oorbeetsh, to the commander of which he would give me a letter, we might be supplied not only with wood and water, but also might procure rice and other pro-

visions. Having returned thanks, I gave him and the other officers some presents, consisting of various European articles. He, in his turn, presented us with fresh fish, saranna,\* wild garlic, and a flask of sagi,† a Japanese beverage. He also treated us with this liquor, having first drank of it himself. Not to be behind-hand with him, I made him and his officers partake of some French brandy, after I had, according to the Japanese custom, first tasted it myself, to prove that I did not mean to give them any thing injurious. They all smacked their lips, and appeared exceedingly well pleased with the brandy, of which, however, they drank but little. Each, on receiving from me the cup out of which they drank, made a slight motion with the head, and lifted the left hand to the forehead. I took a match from one of them, to examine it; in returning it, I made it be understood, by signs, that I wished to cut off a piece, upon which they handed me a whole bundle.

I signified to the chief, that I wished to see their tent, and he immediately conducted me to it.—I found it very long, and covered with mats made of grass and straw. It was divided cross-ways into several apartments, each of which had a separate

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\* The bread-fruit of the Kamtschatdales (*lilium bulbiferum*.)

† This liquor is prepared from rice. The colour is white, and the taste is not unpleasant. It is far from being strong; and yet, when a considerable quantity is drunk, it will intoxicate men who have been accustomed to very strong liquors.

entrance from the south side. The light entered by the doors, for there were no windows. The apartment of the commander was in the eastern end. The floor was covered with very clean mats, on which we sat down, with our legs crossed under us. A large pan, with fire, was placed in the middle of the apartment, and a chest, covered with a bear's-skin, the rough side of which was outward, was brought in. The chief of the Japanese having now laid aside both his sabres and unbound his girdle, I perceived that he was disposed to entertain us in a regular manner. It was, however, dark, and the sloop was too near the land. I thanked him for his friendly reception, informed him I could not stop then, but would visit him another time, and left the tent to go on board the sloop.

Whilst I was conversing with the chief on the shore, an old man advanced towards me with demonstrations of the greatest respect; he was a Toion, or chief of the hairy Kuriles of this part of the island, of whom there were here about fifty individuals of both sexes, and they seemed to be so oppressed by the Japanese that they dared not move in their presence. They all sat crowded together, regarding their rulers with looks of terror, and whenever they had occasion to speak to them, they threw themselves upon their knees, with their open hands pressed closely upon their loins, their heads hanging downwards, and their whole bodies

bent towards the ground. Our Kuriles observed the same ceremony when they addressed themselves to us. In order to converse with them more fully and without interruption, I invited them to come on board our vessel, if they could gain permission to do so. I at the same time desired them to assure the Japanese of our friendly disposition towards them, and that we entertained no intention of doing them harm. Our Kuriles repeated my words though I cannot of course be responsible for their accuracy of the translation; but the answer received amounted to this, that the Japanese were afraid of us, and that instead of believing that we had come to visit them with good intentions, they were convinced that we were disposed to do as much mischief as the Company's ships had formerly done. I was anxious to obtain further information on this subject, and I requested the Kuriles to endeavour to make themselves acquainted with the real sentiments which the Japanese entertained respecting us, and then to come on board our vessel.

At seven in the evening we returned to our sloop; and the Kuriles arrived about an hour afterwards. Their party consisted of two men, two women, and a little girl, apparently four years old. The men spoke the Russian language so well that we could understand each other without much difficulty. They brought along with them the letter from the Japanese chief to the commander at Oor-

beetsh, which they assured us would sufficiently inform him of our pacific intentions; they likewise told us that as soon as we quitted the village, the Japanese dispatched a baidare with a similar intimation to Oorbeetsh; this we had ourselves observed. The letter was written on thick white paper, folded up in an envelope of about six inches and a half in length, and two and a quarter in breadth: this envelope was so formed that a piece of the paper, of a triangular shape, was left to fold down on one side to which it closely adhered; the remaining part, or superior angle of this piece of paper, which was half an inch long, was folded down on the other side, to which it was also firmly attached, and was impressed with a stamp in black ink. The address was written on both sides.

Our Kuriles now informed us that the Japanese persisted in believing that plunder was the only motive which had induced us to visit their shores; and that the conduct of the crews of the Company's ships had excited their suspicions. Whenever they spoke of the violent proceedings of Chwostoff, they usually said: "The Russians attacked us without cause, killed many of our countrymen, took several prisoners, plundered us and burnt all we possessed; they not only carried off our goods, but likewise all our rice and sagi, and abandoned us to all the misery of hunger." Governed by this feeling, the Japanese were, as the Kuriles informed us, convinced that we in-

tended to commit some outrage on them; and had some time before, removed all their property to the interior of the island. This vexed us exceedingly. The Japanese had, indeed, ample cause to suspect our designs; as they did not know the difference between a man-of-war and a merchant vessel.

Before our departure from Kamtschatka, we foresaw, and frequently regretted, that the Japanese would inevitably blame the whole Russian nation for the unjust proceeding of Chwostoff; for they possessed no means of making their complaints known to our government, and thereby discovering the guilty and bringing them to punishment. The Kuriles, however, consoled us with the assurance that ill-will towards the Russians was by no means general among the Japanese, and that the apprehensions of the chief and his companions with whom we had discoursed, were to be attributed solely to their excessive cowardice.

These Kuriles also related to us their own adventures: they told us that in the preceding summer they had been driven by storms to that part of Japan. The Japanese immediately seized them and threw them into prison: they asked them various questions concerning the attack of the Russian ships, to which they replied: that the Kuriles had no participation in the proceedings of the Russians, and that they had besides heard at



Kamtschatka that the commanders of those vessels were pelt-hunters and not imperial officers. The outrage was therefore to be attributed solely to them, and that the Isprawnik (district commander\*) had deposited the Japanese goods in the imperial balagan (warehouse), and had placed the officers themselves under confinement. The Kuriles added, that on receiving this intimation the Japanese were induced to think more favourably of them ; they treated them with kindness, and at length gave orders for their liberation, having previously furnished them with rice, sagi, tobacco, clothes and other articles. Finally, they expected to sail to their native country with the first favourable wind. Two glasses of brandy, with which I regaled each of the Kuriles, seemed to inspire them with confidence, and they frequently mentioned, among other things, that they were in want of gunpowder to shoot with during the winter season, and that the Japanese had provided them with every thing excepting powder. They mentioned this want of gunpowder so repeatedly, that I was convinced they were desirous of obtaining some from me, although they did not presume to ask it directly, and being confident that they wanted it only for hunting, I presented them

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\* These people from the manner in which they talked, must have imagined that the Isprawnik was one of the chief officers of state in Russia.

with half a pound of fine English powder, some tobacco, glass-beads and small ear-rings. It was now getting late, and I was compelled to break off my conversation with them ; and after I had again requested that they would exert their endeavours to convince the Japanese of our peaceable and friendly intentions, they took leave of us about ten o'clock. Whilst these Kuriles were on board our ship, I sent Midshipman Filatoff ashore, to exchange some leaf-tobacco with the hairy Kuriles for wild garlic and saranna. He soon returned, bringing along with him a considerable quantity, which I ordered to be reserved for such of our crew as were sick.

Not the slightest breeze blew during the whole night of the 18th of June, and we were consequently unable to quit the coast. Early in the morning we observed a baidare, with a flag, sailing towards our sloop ; we concluded that the Japanese were about to pay us a visit, and proceeded to make preparations for their reception. To shew that we expected them, I ordered the sails to be furled, though this was unnecessary on account of the calm that prevailed. Towards eight o'clock the baidare had approached very near us ; that which we supposed to be a flag, we now discovered was a white mat, and we recognised in the boat our friends the Kuriles who had visited us on the preceding evening. They were accompanied by a young man, named

Alexei Maximovitsch. The men wore long full Japanese gowns, with short wide sleeves, and made of thick cotton stuff of a blue colour, striped with green. The women wore parkis made of the skins of birds with the feathers outward, and, by way of ornament, several rows of sea-parrots' beaks strung together were suspended from the back part of their shoulders ; they had thick cotton handkerchiefs rolled round their heads, whilst the men on the contrary were bare-headed. They all wore torbasses, or boots, such as are worn by the Russian peasantry, made of sea-lion skin. The Essaul came on board bare-footed ; but before he either bowed or offered to address us, he drew on his boots ; he then advanced, observing towards us the same ceremonies with which he had been accustomed to salute the Japanese. He appeared to be about fifty years of age and extremely feeble. His little daughter was all the time on his back, wrapped in his cloak, and secured therein by a rope which came round in front of his breast. By way of relief, however, from the embarrassment which this fastening occasioned, or when he resolved to move his arms with greater freedom, he lifted the rope to his forehead. On this account sometimes a broad strap was sewed to that part of the rope which touched the forehead. The men had stiff jet black hair and beards, their hair was cut in the same way as that of the Russian carters. They had no artificial ornament either on the face or on

any other part of the body; the women, however, had a blue line drawn round their lips, from one fifth to a quarter of an inch in thickness, and their hands were painted with the same colour. They brought as presents consisting of about eighty poods of salmon-trout and stock-fish, some saranna and wild garlic. The fish I distributed among the crew, and the saranna and garlic were laid by for the sick.

Our first question related to the Japanese soldiers. I was informed that the chief, in consequence of having partaken too freely of the bottle of brandy which I presented to him, had slept soundly the whole of the preceding evening and night; the others, on the contrary, had been under arms the whole time. Nothing could overcome the suspicions they entertained of us, and they threatened, in case we should attack them, to behead the Kuriles, whom they regarded as Russian subjects; for this reason they had watched them closely the whole of the night, and had detained some of their companions as hostages. The Japanese themselves had now sent them to enquire more particularly respecting our motives in visiting them. On this occasion the Kuriles contradicted what they had formerly told us; for, according to the account they now gave, instead of having been driven by storms to the coasts of Japan, they had sailed thither for the purpose of trading, which they were permitted to do: the

Japanese, however, in consequence of the outrages committed by the Russians, had seized them, as they before informed us, and had thrown them into prison. Having at length determined on liberating them, they furnished them with twenty bags of rice, sagi and tobacco for their voyage. Previously to our arrival they had been detained by adverse winds, and the Japanese now threatened to imprison them again, and make their heads answer for our misconduct. Their party at first consisted of seven men, six women and two children; but of these, three men and three women had perished during their imprisonment in a small confined apartment. They did not know the Russian name of the disorder which had occasioned the death of their companions; but, from their description, it was probably scurvy accompanied by great debility. They declared that the Japanese had constantly shewn the utmost concern for their health, and had sent a physician to attend them. One of the Kuriles had been afflicted with a swelling in his hands and cramp in the feet, in consequence of which the calves of his legs were drawn upwards and backwards towards his thighs. Veins were immediately opened by the Japanese surgeons in both his feet, and some time after in both his hands. Owing to the want of suitable expressions, these men could neither describe how, nor with what kind of instruments, the operations had been per-

formed. Their companion, however, recovered, and only regretted that, in consequence of his illness, his hands and feet had become considerably thinner than before. Our surgeon, M. Brandt, a man of very great experience in his profession, ascribed this last circumstance to some other cause.

Whilst relating what had occurred to them, the Kuriles frequently became confused and contradicted each other ; at length they all entreated that I would keep them on board my vessel and land them on their own island (the thirteenth or Raschawa), whither they declared they had resolved on returning. I asked them what would become of their companions, the two women and the child, who would remain in the power of the Japanese ; upon which they all remained silent ; but shortly afterwards they renewed their solicitations, protesting that they believed the Japanese would put them to death when they went on shore. On the preceding evening they had not mentioned a syllable about their determination of returning to their own island ; they merely regretted not having sufficient gun powder to enable them to shoot on Ooroop. To say that bad weather prevented their departure was a palpable falsehood ; they were not aware that we had been cruizing for some time in the neighbourhood of the island, and were consequently acquainted with the state of the weather. There had been no violent winds for a considerable time, and the fogs were by no means so

thick as to render it impossible to proceed from one island to another, particularly from Eetooroop to Ooroop, which are scarcely twenty-five wersts distant from each other. They had besides no reason to fear the fogs, since, as we observed, they had along with them a compass, which they seemed to value as dearly as their own eyes; for they would scarcely trust it out of their hands, and when they came on board the ship, they carried it along with them, being fearful of leaving it in the baidare.\* From all they related, the greater part of which is not worth repeating, we were enabled to form an idea of their situation. It appeared that as soon as the Japanese suspected we entertained an intention of attacking their village, they threatened to punish the Kuriles for our acts, consequently these men had no less reason to fear us than the Japanese. For the sake of saving their heads they would willingly have remained with us, at the risk of sacrificing the two women and the child they had left on shore; they accordingly entreated us to keep them on board. I endeavoured to convince them that they had nothing to fear from the Japanese, against whom we entertained no hostile

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\* This compass, which was fixed in a round case, was three inches in diameter. The card was divided into rhumbs, but without any degrees, and coloured. Instead of glass it was covered with the kind of mica called Muscovy glass. The compass, with its case, was further secured by being placed within a box with a sliding lid; they pretended that they had got it in Kamtschatka.

designs, and advised them to return to the island. I gave them four bottles of French brandy as a present to the Japanese commanding officer, who, as I had learned, was extremely fond of that liquor. When the Kuriles were about to take leave of us, I proposed that one of the party should remain on board our sloop, that he might assist us in coming to a safe anchoring place off Oorooop; and likewise serve as our interpreter, in case we should land at Oorbeetsh. On hearing this, they all offered to continue with us; this, however, could not be permitted; and it was agreed that Alexei should remain on board our sloop, and that the rest should return to the island. They were, however, fully convinced that we intended to attack the Japanese, and one of the party assured us cannon were planted at Oorbeetsh, which would be fired upon the first Russian vessel that came within sight of the island; but, a few moments after this another of the Kuriles observed that there was only one piece of cannon on the island.

Towards noon the weather began to clear up and a brisk south wind arose; I wished to take advantage of this gale for sailing towards the eastern coast of Oorooop, we therefore took leave of our guests, and steered under full sail in an easterly direction. We had not proceeded more than half a mile, or a werst, from the baidare, when we observed the Kuriles raising their hands, beckoning us to return, and heard them calling loudly after



us. Can the baidare be sinking! thought I, and immediately gave orders for the sloop to lie to. They then rowed up to us, and merely repeated their dread of being massacred by the Japanese in the event of our committing any outrage upon them. We again found it necessary to summon all our powers of persuasion for the purpose of convincing and consoling them; and they, at length, agreed to return to the island, though not without some degree of apprehension, for they could not entirely divest themselves of the notions they had formed. I was much moved on thus parting, for a second time, with these poor creatures. They repeatedly bade us farewell from the baidare, and promised, if the Japanese did not kill them, to catch fish, and gather wild garlic and saranna for us against our return.

From Eetoorpoo we sailed towards the eastern coast of Ooroop, in inspecting which we spent three days. We then wished to sail back to Oorbeetsh, but contrary winds prevented us from passing through the Straits of De Fries: we therefore steered in a southerly direction, along the eastern coast of Eetoorpoo, for the purpose of making observations on that island likewise. Meanwhile certain circumstances tended to confirm our Kurile shipmate in the belief that we really entertained the design of attacking the Japanese. When the wind was calm and the weather clear and dry, I ordered the crew to perform their exercise on deck,

and to practice firing with ball. Our Kurile was unable to conceal his astonishment when he beheld the men all under arms; some armed with blunderbusses, some with muskets and others with pistols and pikes. We sought to persuade him that we ourselves had reason to apprehend an attack from the Japanese; and that we wished to hold ourselves in readiness for self-defence; but that if, on the contrary, they received us kindly, they need entertain no fear. He nodded his head as if he credited what we told him; but it was plain that, in his heart, he was far from being convinced of the truth of our statement. In the course of conversation, he would frequently disclose circumstances which he shewed a disposition to conceal when questioned directly concerning them. For instance, he at first declared his ignorance of the way in which the Kuriles trade with the Japanese; but some time after, whilst we were drinking tea, and discoursing on some other matters, he mentioned what the Japanese had given them in exchange for certain articles, without seeming to be aware that he was betraying what he before wished to keep a secret. I was well pleased to find that we could thus obtain from our guest all the information we desired, without either perplexing him or putting him in fear. The facts thus communicated, as it were accidentally and of his own free will, without any

questions being directly addressed to him, were doubtless more to be relied on than any which we might have wrung from him by inquisitorial interrogatories ; that, under such circumstances, a wild ignorant Kurile should have stated many untruths would not have been surprising. Accordingly, whenever I entered into conversation with him, I usually began by talking about common affairs, with the view of bringing him by degrees to other subjects of discourse. In this way I learned from him that previous to the attack made by the Company's ships, the Kuriles had carried on a trade with the Japanese, as uninterrupted and regular as if it had been sanctioned by a duly ratified treaty. The Kuriles brought to Japan bears' and sea-dogs' skins, eagles' wings and tails, and fox skins; the latter, however, the Japanese seldom purchased, and never gave a high price for them; these articles they exchanged for rice, cotton-manufactures, clothes (particularly night-dresses), tobacco-pipes, domestic utensils of varnished wood, and other things. The Japanese sell their rice in large and small bags. The large bag is equal to three small ones, and, according to our Kurile's account, is so heavy that a man can scarcely lift it; it may, perhaps, contain about four poods. The barter was conducted according to a convention made by both parties, and without the least attempt at undue advantage on either side. The

value of the merchandize scarcely ever varied; the Kuriles usually received from the Japanese:—

For the skin of a beaver which had attained its full growth, ten large bags of rice.\*

For a sea-dog's skin, seven small bags.

For ten eagles' tails, twenty small bags, or a silk dress.

For three eagles' tails, a cotton dress, lined with the same material and wadded.

For ten eagles' wings, a bundle of leaf-tobacco, which the Kuriles are extremely fond of. They usually chew it. Some, however, take it like snuff, and others have learnt from the Japanese the custom of smoking it with pipes, such as they use.

The Japanese give a high price for eagles' wings and tails, as they use the feathers for their arrows; they likewise set a high value on various European articles, which they purchase from the Kuriles at a very dear rate; such as yellow and red cloth, and cloth of other colours, glass wares, strings of amber and glass beads, boots, hardware, &c.

The yellow cloth is reserved for distinguished

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\* Allowing that each bag contained only three poods, they received thirty poods of rice for one beaver-skin. At Kamtschatka the American Company purchased, in our presence, the rice which had been brought from Japan, paying for it at the rate of sixteen rubels the pood: they did not, however, consider the beaver-skin to be worth more than fifty rubels. The Company would not have given the Kuriles more than three poods of rice for a beaver-skin.

visitors; a piece of a suitable size is usually spread out where it is intended the guest shall seat himself. Cloths of other colours are made into wearing apparel. They ornament the seams of our boots with glass beads or pearls; but in other respects they wear them in the same way as we do.

Our guest, Alexei Maximovitsch, was no less communicative when our conversation happened to turn on the hunting trade, and how it enabled the Kuriles to gain a livelihood. He complained that the number of beavers was constantly diminishing; a circumstance which appeared extremely probable. These animals have, indeed, become exceedingly scarce, both on the Aleute Islands and on those parts of the American coast which are visited by the Company's pelt-hunters. The indefatigable perseverance of their pursuers has made them shun the human race, and they have retired towards the south, into the channels between the numerous islands on the north-west coast of America. In the summer season, when the sea is calm, and the Kuriles can, without danger, sail from the coasts in their baidares, they shoot the beavers with arrows; but in the winter, they either shoot them from the shore or catch them in nets, which they spread between the stones on which these animals sometimes station themselves. They have three different methods of killing the dark-brown, grey and red foxes. If they fall in with them accidentally, or in hunting, they shoot them in the

usual way; but they also take them in the Kamtschatka manner, by traps, (namely, by placing in a trap some bait, which is no sooner touched by the fox than an iron weapon descends and kills him,) or ensnare them with sea-gulls. They fasten a sea-gull in a place where they observe traces of the fox, and lay down around the gull snares formed of running loops; the hunter, in the mean while, remains on the watch to prevent the fox from gnawing the snare asunder. Whenever the sea-gull begins to flap its wings, the fox darts upon his prey and is caught in a noose.

The ice fox is never seen on the Kurile Islands, and the inhabitants do not even know such an animal by name. When shown their skins at Kamtschatka they called them white foxes. They shoot sea-lions and sea-dogs; and catch eagles with sea-gulls, though not in the same way as they ensnare the foxes. They build a little shed with an aperture at the top and in the interior fasten a sea-gull; in a short time the eagle darts upon his prey, seizes it with his claws, and whilst he is endeavouring to carry it off or devour it, he is killed by the Kuriles. It is only during the winter that the eagle inhabits the Kurile Islands, on the approach of summer these birds of prey take flight to Kamtschatka, where they are then found in great numbers, because the streams which flow through that peninsula supply them with abundance of food. The Kuriles hunt sea-otters,

sea-lions, sea-dogs and foxes only for the sake of trade; to supply their domestic wants they catch different sorts of sea-fowl, such as geese, various kinds of ducks, &c., and likewise fish, which are, however, by no means very plentiful in the Kurile Islands belonging to the Russians. On the coasts of the thirteenth and fourteenth islands, namely, Raschaua and Oosheessier, a fish is found which the inhabitants call *seer-bok*: in size it resembles the *gorbuska* (a kind of salmon) and is of a red colour. They are caught between the stones with hooks. The Kuriles seldom go out to kill ducks and geese, as too great a quantity of powder and shot is expended on these birds\*. They catch in the nest, and with their hands, sea-parrots, storm-finches, and another kind of bird which in their language is called *mauridor*†; and a man may

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\* I must here observe, that neither the Kamtschatdales nor the Kuriles use either fowling pieces or slugs. When they wish to shoot even the smallest bird they employ a rifle with ball: they therefore, but seldom kill birds in this manner, though they use little powder, and their balls are not large. A pound of powder and two pounds of lead serve to load a piece more than one hundred times.

† In Buffon's Natural History, I find no mention made of any bird which corresponds with the *mauridor*, I will, therefore, endeavour to give some description of it. In size the *mauridor* resembles a pigeon, the feathers on the back and upper part of the wings are blackish and dark grey, sometimes both these colours are mixed; on the breast and under the wings they are light grey. The wings are long and consist of two parts connected together by joints. When the wings are spread out, the bird measures from one side to the other about two feet eight

## HIS CAPTIVITY IN JAPAN.

catch thirty, forty, or even fifty of these birds in one day. The feathers are taken off with the skins, which are sewed together and made into parkis both for men and women. The fat is made into oil, and the Kuriles smoke the flesh and lay it by for provisions during the winter. Indeed their chief sustenance consists of the flesh of these birds, together with wild garlic, saranna, and various kinds of sea-plants ; in addition to which, however, they frequently procure rice from the Japanese.

The Kuriles who are under the dominion of the Russians have in general no beard. Those, however, whom we found on Eetooroop had beards, but they had allowed them to grow in imitation of the hairy Kuriles who preserve their beards. Alexei, therefore, in consequence of continuing on board with us, expressed a wish to have his beard removed, and was accordingly shaved. I besides gave him several articles of naval cloathing which had belonged to seamen now deceased.

The inhabitants of Shoomska and Paramooshier travel with dogs like the Kamtschatdales. On Raschaua and Oosheesier, however, they do not

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inches, and thirteen inches from the extremity of the beak to the end of the tail. The feet are trid : the claws scarcely perceptible and connected together by a thin skin ; at the back part of the foot there is a small toe which resembles a nail. The feet and skin are of a blue colour ; the beak, which is pointed and black, is turned downwards at the end, and on the upper part furnished with two holes.



understand this art, but keep a number of dogs for hunting foxes. I did not before mention this sort of fox hunting, because it is not general, and only practised by some of the Kuriles on the Island of Raschaua. The inhabitants of Oosheessier, on which there are no foxes, go in quest of these animals to other islands, whither they cannot carry their dogs with them. In both islands they use dog-skin for winter dress.

Alexei informed us that we might find a safe anchoring place near the Island of Kunaschier (the twentieth on the chain of the Kurile Islands), and that it contained a fortified village, where we might be supplied with wood, water, rice and fresh roots. Instead, therefore, of proceeding to Oorbeetsh, I resolved to sail straight to Kunaschier. To this determination I was chiefly induced by the wish of closely examining the harbour of Kunaschier, and the channel which separates that island from Matsmai; this channel being as yet unknown to European navigators, and on many charts both islands being described as one connected piece of land. Even on Broughton's chart this uncertainty is not removed. Besides, I wished for other reasons to reach the village and anchoring place as speedily as possible; we found that the rats in the store-room had consumed more than four poods of biscuit, and about six tchetweriks of malt, and as we knew not what havoc they might have made among the provisions which lay still lower in the

hold, we judged it expedient to proceed with all possible haste to a place where, in case of necessity, we might procure a fresh stock.

Owing to adverse winds, fogs, and thick weather, we did not reach the straits between Matsmai and Kunaschier until the 4th of July. In the interim we cruized in the neighbourhood of the Islands Eetooroop, Kunaschier and Tschikztan, which we occasionally saw, though they were almost always veiled by mists. Towards evening, we approached a long flat piece of land, forming the eastern side of the harbour of Kunaschier. Our entering the harbour at so late an hour might probably have excited alarm among the Japanese, I therefore thought it advisable to cast anchor in the channel. During the whole of the night, we observed large fires burning on both the promontories of the bay, which were probably intended for signals. On the following morning, the 5th of July, we sailed into the harbour. As we advanced, guns were twice fired at us from the castle; the shot, however, fell into the water without reaching our vessel. From this circumstance, we concluded that the Japanese on the Island of Eetooroop had not yet made known to those here our favourable intentions; and as the fortress and the bay were still enveloped in darkness, we again cast anchor. When the weather cleared up, we stood in towards the fortress, from which there was now no more firing; though the boat, which was

a-head of us, and in which some of our crew were taking soundings, was within range of the guns. The works were hung round with white and black, or dark blue striped cloth, so that we could perceive neither walls nor palisades. Sentinels were posted in various places, and above them embrasures were painted, but in so rough a style that even at a considerable distance we could perceive the deception. Within the fortress we could only descry a few buildings which stood upon an acclivity and overtopped the wall. Among these buildings the governor's house was distinguished by numerous flags and weather-cocks being fixed upon the roof; we likewise saw flags waving on other houses in the town, but not in such number. For this circumstance Alexei could not account, though he told us that the town was always so ornamented whenever a foreign vessel or any personage of distinction entered the harbour. We cast anchor at a distance of about two wersts from the garrison, and the pilot's assistant, named Srednoy, four sailors, the Kurile and myself, got on board a boat and rowed towards the shore. We had already come within fifty fathoms of the shore, when the Japanese unexpectedly began to fire their cannon upon us from different points. We immediately put about, and, as will readily be supposed, began to row off as quickly as possible. The first guns which were fired had nearly proved fatal to us, for the shot passed close to

the boat ; but afterwards they fired less frequently, and appeared to point their guns very badly.\*

On hearing the report of the first firing, Captain Lieutenant Rikord, the senior commanding-officer under me, immediately dispatched all the armed boats to our assistance ; fortunately, however, we had no occasion for them, as not a single ball touched us. Even when we were out of the reach of their shot, the Japanese did not cease firing, and we still heard the reports of their cannon after we had got on board the sloop. I was not a little indignant at this aggression. It appeared to me that none except the rudest barbarians would have been guilty of firing from the fortress upon a little boat, containing only seven men, when they could not but be aware that a single ball might have sent us all to the bottom. I at first thought I should be justified in taking vengeance on them, and had already ordered a cannon to be pointed at the castle, to convince the Japanese how powerfully our sloop was armed ; but I soon reflected that the moment for vengeance would not be lost, and that without the consent of my government I should not be justified in resorting to hostile proceedings ; I therefore altered my intention, and stood off from the garrison. A thought now suddenly came across my mind. I imagined that

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\* The Japanese powder appears to be extremely bad ; on being fired it creates an uncommonly thick and black smoke.

by means of signs I might make myself understood by the Japanese. For this purpose, on the 6th of July, I caused a cask to be sawed in two, and set both parts afloat in the water in front of the town. In the inside of one half of the cask were placed a glass containing fresh water, a piece of wood, and a handful of rice, to denote that we were in want of these articles; the other half contained a few piastres, a piece of yellow cloth, and some crystal beads and pearls, meaning thereby to intimate that we would give them either money or other articles in exchange for provisions. Upon this half of the cask we fixed a drawing of the harbour, the fortress and the sloop; which was very skilfully executed by the Midshipman, Moor. In this drawing the sloop's guns were very distinctly marked, but fixed in the ports with their tompkins in; but the guns of the garrison were represented as firing, and the balls flying over the sloop. By this means I wished, if possible, to make the Japanese sensible of their perfidy. No sooner had we set the cask afloat and rowed away, than the Japanese immediately seized it, and carried it into their fortress. On the following day we approached within gun-shot of the castle, for the purpose of receiving an answer; having, however, previously made every preparation for an engagement; but the Japanese did not seem to notice us. No one appeared near the works, which were still hung round with cloth.

I reflected seriously on all the circumstances that had occurred, and was convinced that I had a right to demand an answer of some sort or other from the Japanese. Our first intercourse with them had been purely accidental ; the chief with whom we communicated had voluntarily given us a letter to the governor of a town, in order that we might be supplied not only with wood and water, but likewise with provisions. Relying on this assurance, we had sailed to Kunashier, and lost a fortnight, during which time we might have returned to Okotzk. Our provisions having in the meanwhile greatly diminished, we hoped to obtain a fresh stock from the Japanese, who, however, did not regard our proposal as worthy of an answer. In this critical situation, I requested that each officer should draw up a written declaration of his opinion respecting the course which ought to be adopted. They all agreed that nothing but the utmost provocation could justify us in proceeding to hostilities, until the command of the monarch authorized us so to do. In this particular, the opinions of the officers coincided with my own, and we moved farther from the castle.

I now dispatched a well-armed boat, under the command of Captain-Lieutenant Rikord, to a fishing-village on one side of the harbour, directing him to take the necessary quantity of wood, water, and rice, and to leave payment either in Spanish piastres or merchandize. I remained on

board the sloop, which I kept under sail at a short distance from the shore, being fully resolved to obtain these articles by force, in case the Japanese should oppose the landing of Lieutenant Rikord. But neither soldiers nor any inhabitants were to be seen in the village. Here Lieutenant Rikord found only muddy rain-water; he, however, carried off some wood, rice, and dried fish, and left behind him various European articles, which Alexei declared to be far more valuable than what he carried away. In the afternoon curiosity induced me to go ashore to try to discover the plans of the Japanese, and I was highly pleased to observe that all the articles which Lieutenant Rikord had left were removed. The Japanese must, therefore, have visited the shore after his departure, and those who occupied the fortress would thus be convinced that plunder was not our object. There were two fishing villages on this side of the harbour, and we observed every necessary apparatus for fishing, salting, drying and extracting oil. The Japanese nets are excessively large, and every article used by fishermen, such as boats, buckets, vats for the oil, &c. were all in astonishing good order.

On the 8th of July we observed a cask floating before the town; I immediately weighed anchor in order to take it up. We found that it contained a little box wrapped up in several pieces of oil-cloth. The box contained three papers;

one of which was a Japanese letter which we could not read, and the other two were drawings. Both these sketches represented the harbour, the castle, our sloop, the cask with a boat rowing towards it, and the rising sun, but with this difference, that in one the guns of the castle were firing, whilst in the other the muzzles of the cannon were turned backwards. We were a long time occupied in considering these hieroglyphics, and each explained them after his own way; but this will not be thought wonderful, as the same thing frequently happens among greater scholars. We all, however, agreed in one thing, namely, that the Japanese declined holding intercourse with us.

For my own part I interpreted these drawings in the following manner: I supposed the Japanese to mean that, though they had not fired upon us when they observed us sending off the cask, yet if we attempted to send out another, they would immediately fire upon it. We then got under way and stood over to the mouth of a little river on the western side of the harbour, where we cast anchor. I now sent out some armed boats in quest of fresh water. The seamen continued at work all day on the shore without experiencing any opposition from the Japanese; they merely sent out some Kuriles from the castle, who at the distance of about half a werst observed the motions of our crew. On the following morning,



the 9th of July, our boats again went ashore; a Kurile immediately came out of the castle, and approached them with a very slow pace, and an air of extreme apprehension. In one hand he held a wooden crucifix, and with the other continually crossed himself as he advanced towards the shore. He had lived for several years among our Kuriles on the Island of Raschaua, where he was known by the name of Koosma; there he had probably learnt to cross himself, and having observed that the Russians venerate the cross, he now ventured forth under its protection to meet us in the character of a flag of truce. Lieutenant Rudakoff was the first who accosted him: he caressed him and gave him various presents; but nothing could subdue the terror of the Kurile, who continued to tremble as if he had been seized with the shivering fit of an ague. I next approached him, but was unable to make myself understood, as Alexei was not along with us. The Kurile was so terrified that he would neither wait for him nor accompany us on board, and we did not think it prudent to detain him by force. He could scarcely speak ten words of Russian, yet I understood from his gesticulation, that the governor of the city expressed a wish that he and I should meet in boats, accompanied by an equal number of people on both sides, in order to hold a conference. I joyfully testified my willingness to accede to this proposal, and I gave the Kurile a

string of beads. This present seemed to inspire him with so much boldness that he ventured to ask me for a little tobacco ; I, however, happened to have none with me, but promised to bring him some the next time I came on shore. I then took leave of him and put off with the boat.

Meanwhile the Japanese had placed another cask in front of the castle, but so close to the batteries that I deemed it imprudent to venture to take it away ; still nobody came out of the castle, though they beckoned to us with white fans to come on shore. I now began to suspect that I had misunderstood the Kurile : as we were preparing however to row back again, we observed a boat put off from the shore. In this boat were several officers and a Kurile interpreter, and they immediately rowed towards us. They had many more men on board than we, but as we were well armed I felt no reason to be afraid of them. The conference began on their side, with an apology for having fired upon us when we first attempted to land. To justify this proceeding, they declared that their distrust had been excited in consequence of an outrage committed upon them some years before, by the crews of two Russian vessels, who had at first landed under pretence of the same motives which we professed. They, however, perceived the difference between our conduct and that of their former visitors : every suspicion had now vanished, and they declared their readiness to

do all they could to serve us. I desired our interpreter, Alexei, to explain to them, that those ships were merchantmen ; that the aggression had been made without the consent of our government, and that the owners of the vessels, both of whom were now no more, had suffered due punishment for their reprehensible proceedings. I sought to convince them of the truth of this assurance by the same method which we had adopted with respect to the Japanese on the Island of Ectoorpoo. They replied that they believed all we had said, and rejoiced to hear that the Russians entertained such good dispositions towards them.

When I inquired whether they were satisfied with the payment they had received for the articles taken from the fishing village, they answered that what we had taken were mere trifles, and that we had paid infinitely beyond their value. They moreover assured me that the governor was ready to furnish us with any thing their island afforded, and inquired what other articles we stood in need of. I requested to have ten bags of rice, some fresh fish and vegetables, for which I offered to give as many piasters as might be required. They invited me to land in order to have an interview with the governor ; this, however, I declined doing, and promised to go on the following day, when the sloop would be nearer the shore. According to my promise, I had brought some tobacco for Koosma ; but the Japanese officers did

not think fit to allow the Kurile to receive my present. I wished to have had some further conversation on various subjects with the Japanese, but Alexei who had recognized some of his old friends in the boat, was so fond of chattering with his countrymen that he neglected to interpret my questions

When we had parted from the Japanese, Alexei explained to us what his countrymen had communicated to him. They declared that the approach of our sloop had filled the Japanese with the utmost terror and consternation, they were convinced that we intended to attack them, and had accordingly removed all their property, with the greatest haste to the forests. We had ourselves observed them driving loaded horses along the hills. The Kuriles added that they fired on our sloop merely through fear, and when they observed our boat approaching the fishing-village they felt assured that we intended immediately to plunder and set fire to their habitations. When, however, we quitted the shore they returned to inspect their houses, and finding every thing in the same order as they had left it, and that we had left many valuable European articles behind in exchange for the rice, fish and wood which we had carried away, the joy of the Japanese knew no bounds, and all their apprehensions ceased. I was the more ready to believe that they had fired upon us merely through terror, since they

probably suspected that we had a strong party concealed in the bottom of the boat. The boat was indeed infinitely too small for any such purpose, but then they might have been blinded by fear. They would not else have attacked a handful of men, who, as it were, threw themselves into their power. They might have waited on the shore and have made us their prisoners whenever we landed. But Alexei had previously informed me that the very sight of a Russian inspired the Japanese with indescrivable terror. They expressed great astonishment at the rapidity with which the Russians fired their guns, and the excellent order in which they fought, which they had witnessed during the attack made upon them by the Company's vessels.

On the morning of the 16th of July we filled our last cask with water ; which business and the state of the wind did not permit us to approach the castle. In the meanwhile the Japanese sent out a boat, and made signs that they wished to speak with us. We immediately rowed towards them, and, as we approached, I observed that the persons in the boat threw a cask into the water and immediately put ashore. We found that this cask contained all the articles which we had left in the village as payment for what we had taken, and likewise all that we had placed in the cask which we had first sent off. I now put into it eighteen piasters and some East-India silks, and

was preparing to row on board, when the Japanese began to beckon to us with white fans and to make signs indicating that they wished us to land. This invitation was given when we had no longer need of any thing from them, and when we had obtained so abundant a supply of wood, water and provisions that we might have continued two months longer at sea, prosecuting our observations, and then have sailed back to Okotzk.

I wished, however, to communicate with the Japanese for other reasons. I considered it my duty, as an officer in the service of the Emperor of Russia, to assure them, if possible, that our government had taken no part in the outrages committed on their coasts by the Company's vessels ; that the directors of the American Company, were not persons of great consideration in Russia, but even they had never sanctioned that illegal proceeding, which was wholly attributable to the captains of the vessels, and that His Imperial Majesty had ever entertained a wish to establish friendly compacts and commercial relations between Russia and Japan. I reflected that my duty to my native country required that I should, in such a case, lay aside all consideration of personal danger. I therefore ordered the sailors, of whom I took four with me, to conceal their arms by wrapping sail-cloth about them, but to be careful to have them in readiness in case of an attack, and we landed at a distance of from sixty to eighty fathoms from the gates

of the castle. The Kurile Alexei, one of the sailors and myself stepped ashore : I ordered the rest to keep the boat afloat, not to permit any of the Japanese to get on board of it, and to keep their eyes constantly fixed upon me in order to watch any signal I might make to them. We were met on the shore by an officer, called an Oyagoda (a term nearly equivalent to our commander of a district), two inferior officers, two privates and upwards of ten Kuriles. All the Japanese, though of different ranks, were dressed in costly silk garments and were completely armed ; each had a sabre and poniard fastened in his girdle, but the Kuriles, on the contrary, were without any arms. I had only a sabre by my side, but I had taken the precaution of concealing three pair of pistols in my pockets and my bosom. The Oyagoda received me with the utmost civility and politeness, and requested that I would wait on the shore for the governor of the castle, who, he assured me, would soon come out to meet me.—I asked him what we were to understand by their having sent back in the cask all the articles we had left in the fishing-village. He replied that they wished to return them, because they supposed we did not intend to have any further intercourse with them, and that in that case they durst take nothing. I immediately recollected that Laxman, in his Narrative, mentioned that the Japanese would accept of no presents until the conclusion of the negociation,

though it did not appear that they afterwards declined any thing which he offered them. I therefore felt myself perfectly satisfied on this head.

I had not long to wait for the governor; he soon appeared completely armed and accompanied by two soldiers, one of whom carried his long spear, and the other his cap or helmet, which was adorned with a figure of the moon. In other respects it somewhat resembled the crowns which are occasionally worn at nuptial-ceremonies in Russia. It is scarcely possible to conceive any thing more ludicrous than the manner in which the governor walked. His eyes were cast down and fixed upon the earth, his hands pressed close against his sides; he besides proceeded at so slow a pace that he scarcely extended one foot beyond the other, and kept his feet as wide apart as though a stream of water had been running betwixt them. I saluted him after the European fashion, upon which he raised his left hand towards his forehead, and bowed his head and his whole body towards the ground. Our conversation then commenced. I apologized for having been compelled, by the most urgent necessity, to occasion them so much inconvenience. He expressed his regret that the ignorance of the Japanese respecting the object of our visit should have occasioned them to fire upon us, and inquired why, on first entering the harbour, we did not send out a boat to meet that which had been dispatched from



the garrison, as we might thereby have prevented the occurrence of such disagreeable hostilities. I assured him that no boat had been seen by any of the crew on board our sloop, and imputed our not having perceived it to the darkness of the evening. I plainly saw, however, that he was seeking to excuse his own conduct, and was at the same time asserting a direct falsehood ; for when we entered the harbour, we could perceive every object around us with the utmost distinctness : not even the flight of a bird, and much less a boat proceeding from the shore, could have escaped our observation. He then asked whether I was the captain of the vessel, or whether it was commanded by some individual older than I ; which question he repeated several times. He likewise asked where we were sailing to, why we had landed on their coasts, and whither we next intended to proceed ? Lest an explanation of the real object of our visit to their islands, might create fear and suspicion, I informed him that we were sailing from the eastern extremity of our empire to St. Petersburg, that contrary winds had considerably lengthened our voyage, and that, being greatly in want of fresh water and wood, we wished to enter some safe harbour to procure a supply of these articles. I added, that we had accidentally touched at the Island of Eetoorpoo, where we found a Japanese garrison, the commander of which had furnished us with a letter to Oorbeetch, which I wished

to have sent ashore ; these were the reasons which had induced us to enter their harbour, and that we now wished to take the nearest course to Canton, for the purpose of procuring some articles from that place. Here he observed, that on landing at Eetoorpoo we had declared trade to be our object, but that we now told a very different story. I replied, that if he had been so informed, the mistake was to be ascribed to the Kuriles, who spoke but little Russian ; and, as in the Kurile language there were no words signifying money or purchase, they had been obliged to translate these terms by the words exchange or trade. He then asked what was our Emperor's name, what was my name, whether I knew Resanoff, who had been sent as ambassador to their islands, and whether there were any persons in St. Petersburg who could speak the Japanese language ? To all these questions, I returned suitable answers ; I informed him of Resanoff's death, and told him that there were several persons in Russia who could translate the Japanese language. He carefully noted down every thing I said. He then invited me to partake of some tea, sagi and caviar, and to smoke tobacco. Every thing was served upon separate dishes, and presented by different individuals, who were all armed with poniards and sabres ; but instead of going away after having handed us any thing we wished for, they remained standing near, till at length we were surrounded by a formidable circle

of armed men. Among the various articles which I had brought ashore as presents to the Governor, were several bottles of French brandy ; I accordingly asked him whether he would chuse to taste this liquor, and ordered my sailors to draw a bottle ; at the same time taking an opportunity of repeating the order I had previously given them, namely, to hold themselves in readiness.

To desire that the overplus of the Japanese should remove, or to shew that I was in any way alarmed by their presence, was what I could not stoop to do ; besides, I thought it prudent not to let them suppose that I distrusted them. There was also no appearance of any intention to resort to violence on their part, notwithstanding that they might have done what they pleased with us, though certainly not without suffering some loss. We smoked, drank tea and joked together ; they were curious to know the Russian names of several things, and I in return asked the Japanese names. At last I stood up and inquired when I should receive the promised provisions, what I should have to pay for the same, and held up a piaster, in order that the number of that coin, which they required, might be mentioned. To my great astonishment I was then informed that the officer with whom I had been conversing was not the commander-in-chief of the fortress, and therefore could decide nothing on this point. He, however, invited me to go into the castle with him, in order to make

the necessary arrangements with the Governor myself. This I declined, on the pretence that I had already spent too much time with him, and that were I to comply with his desire, a suspicion would probably be excited on board of the sloop, which might give rise to hostilities. I offered at the same time to follow him into the fortress, provided that some persons of distinction among them went on board the sloop in my boat, as that would satisfy the officers with respect to my safety.

The proposal was no sooner made, than one of the Japanese left us, as if for the purpose of obtaining the Governor's consent. The answer was a refusal, accompanied with an assurance that the Governor would immediately come out to us ; but soon after a messenger announced that he was gone to dinner and could not yet come. I declined to wait any longer, but promised to bring the ship nearer the shore, and to visit the castle. The Lieutenant-Governor made no objection to my going, but on parting presented me with a flask of *sagi* and some fresh fish, expressing regret that he had not more of the latter to give. He, however, pointed to a large net which had been thrown, and requested that a boat might be sent on shore before the evening set in, as the whole draught should be given to us. He accepted from me a burning-glass and a bottle of brandy, but would not permit the Kuriles to take any tobacco from us. As a mark of friendship, he gave me a white fan,

with which he said we were to beckon when we came on shore, as a signal of our being peaceably disposed. During the interpretation of the Japanese officer's speech, Alexei talked frequently to me of the cross, but in so obscure and unintelligible a manner, that I could not comprehend him. It was not until we were again in the boat and felt ourselves quite free, that he sufficiently collected himself to explain what he really meant. It was well known to the Japanese, he observed, that the Russians entertain the greatest veneration for the cross, and on that account he had wished me to cross myself, and signify that I made that sign in confirmation of our friendly disposition towards them. On hearing this I was exceedingly vexed that I had not been able to understand him before we left the shore.

Towards evening we stood in within gun-shot of the castle, and brought the sloop to anchor. It was now too late for me to think of entering on any conference, but I ordered Midshipman Jakuschkin to go ashore with an armed boat, to deliver the letter we had brought from the isle of Ectooroop, and to bring on board the fish which had been promised us. I further directed him to row to the place I had landed at, and not to leave the boat a single moment. He executed my orders with the greatest punctuality, and returned at twilight. The Japanese received him with much kindness, and sent us more than a hundred large

fish on board. When they were informed that they might expect me in the morning, they expressed their hope that I would not fail, and their wish to see some of my officers along with me. I must confess that this invitation ought to have excited some degree of suspicion, but I was led into the error of disbelieving Jakuschkin. As an officer, this Midshipman was zealous in the performance of his duty, but his curiosity was insatiable; he wished to be every where, and to see every thing with his own eyes. I, therefore, conjectured that it was not agreeable to him to see me go ashore by myself, and that he had invented this invitation, in order that I might be induced to take him with me next day. What confirmed me in this notion was, that at the same moment he asked leave to make one of the party; this I was, however, under the necessity of refusing, as I had previously promised to take Midshipman Moor and Mr. Chlebnikoff, the pilot.

Next morning, July 11, at eight o'clock, I landed with the above-named officers, the Kurile Alexei, and four seamen.\* I was so fully persuaded that we stood on a friendly footing with the Japanese, that I had not ordered the seamen to arm themselves. The officers, three in number, including

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\* Their names were Dmitry Simanoff, Spiridon Makaroff, Michailo Schkajeff, and Grygory Wassiljeff; all of the first rank, or able seamen.

myself, had each a sword, in addition to which Mr. Chlebnikoff brought with him a pocket pistol, more for the purpose of making a signal in the case of a fog, than for defence. On passing the cask which we had sent on shore, we looked into it, and found all the things we had placed there unremoved. I again recollected what had happened to Laxman, and ascribed this circumstance to the Japanese practice of accepting no presents while a negociation was pending. At last we landed close to the fortress. The Oyagoda, and two officers whom I had seen the day before, came out to meet us, and begged that we would wait a little until every thing was prepared for our reception in the castle. Wishing by my confidence in the Japanese to extinguish any suspicion they might yet entertain, I ordered the boat to be hauled up on the shore until it was half out of the water, and left one sailor with it. The other seamen I directed to follow us, carrying seats, and the presents which I destined for the Japanese. We walked from ten to fifteen minutes on the shore, during which time I conversed with the Oyagoda. I made inquiries respecting the coast of Matsmai, of which we had a view, and the trade between their island and the peninsula of Nippon. I remarked, however, that he answered my questions with reluctance. Finally, we proceeded to the castle.

On entering the castle gate, I was astonished at the number of men I saw assembled

there. Of soldiers alone, I observed from three to four hundred, armed with muskets, bows and arrows, and spears, sitting in a circle, in an open space to the right of the gate: on the left a countless multitude of Kuriles surrounded a tent of striped cotton cloth, erected about thirty paces from the gate. I never could have supposed this small insignificant place capable of containing so many men, and concluded that they must have been collected from all the neighbouring garrisons since we appeared in the harbour.

We were soon introduced into the tent, on a seat opposite to the entrance of which the Governor had placed himself. He wore a rich silk dress, with a complete suit of armour, and had two sabres under his girdle. A long cord of white silk passed over his shoulder; at one end of this cord was a tassel of the same material, and at the other a steel baton which he held in his hand, and which was doubtless the symbol of his authority. His armour-bearers, one holding a spear, another a musket, and a third his helmet, sat behind him on the floor. The helmet resembled that of the second in command, with this difference that instead of the figure of the moon, it bore the image of the sun. This officer now sat on the left of the Governor, on a seat somewhat lower than that of his superior; he too had his armour-bearers behind him. Four officers were sitting cross legged



on the floor on each side of the tent ; they wore black armour, and had each two sabres. On our entrance, the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor both rose up ; we saluted them in our own manner, and they returned the compliment. They invited us to sit down on a bench which was placed directly opposite to themselves, but we chose to use the seats we had brought with us. Our sailors seated themselves on the bench behind us. After the introductory civilities were concluded, they entertained us with tea without sugar, in cups which, according to the Japanese fashion, were only half filled ; the cups had no saucers, but were handed to us on small trays made of varnished wood. Before they gave us the tea they asked whether we would prefer any thing else. Pipes and tobacco were afterwards brought to us, and the conference commenced. They desired to know our names and rank, the name of our ship, whence we came, whither we were bound, why we had visited them, what had induced Russian ships to attack their villages, and further, whether we knew Resanoff and where he now was ? Our answers to these questions were conformable to the statements we had previously made, and were written down by the Lieutenant-Governor. We were next told that to enable them to prepare the proper quantity of provisions we wanted, it was necessary they should know the exact number of our crew. Ridiculous as this question was, they had an object in putting it.

On our part we thought it advisable to make our force appear more considerable than it was, and therefore doubled it, calling it 102 men. Alexei could neither understand nor express this number ; and I was obliged to make an equal number of marks with a black-lead pencil on paper, which the Japanese counted off. We were further asked whether we had any other ships of the size of the *Diana* in their seas ? We answered that we had many in Okotzk, Kamtschatka and America. Among their questions were several of a very insignificant nature relative to our dress, customs, &c. They also carefully examined the presents I had brought for the Governor, among which were maps of the globe, ivory-handled knives, burning-glasses and piastres, with which I intended to pay the Japanese for a supply of provisions, as soon as I could ascertain the number they required.

While the conference was going on, Mr. Moor observed, that naked sabres had been distributed among the soldiers who were sitting in the open space. He immediately mentioned this to me, but I supposed that a sabre or two might have been accidentally out of their sheaths ; and I asked him with a smile whether he had not made a mistake, as the Japanese always carry swords, and could at present have no reason for drawing them. This remark appeared to satisfy him ; but circumstances soon occurred which roused all our suspicion, and convinced us that some mischief

was intended against us. The Lieutenant-Governor having withdrawn for a short time, as if to make some arrangement, returned and whispered to the Governor, who immediately rose up to go away. We got up also to take our leave; and I repeated my question respecting the price of provisions, and also asked whether he intended to supply us with any? On hearing this he sat down, invited us to do the same, and, though it was early in the day, ordered dinner to be served up.

We accepted his invitation, and waited with impatience to see what would next occur, as it now appeared we were caught in a snare from which it would be difficult to escape. But the kind behaviour of the Japanese and their assurances that we had nothing to fear, again tranquillized us, and induced us to abandon our suspicions of their treachery. They entertained us with rice, fish in a green sauce and other savory dishes, the ingredients composing which we did not know. They also gave us *sagi*. After we had dined, the Governor was again about to withdraw. I now declared that we could wait no longer, but must return immediately on board. On hearing this he once more sat down, and having intimated that he could not supply us with any thing without an order from the Governor of Matsmai, under whose jurisdiction he was, proposed that one of us should remain in the castle as a hostage, until a decision should be returned by that commander on the report he was

about to transmit to him. The Japanese began now to throw off the mask. I desired to be informed what time would be occupied in sending the report to Matsmai and obtaining an answer; he replied a fortnight. I felt, however, that it would be dishonourable to leave an officer behind me as a hostage. There was, besides, no knowing when such an affair would be brought to a conclusion with a people like the Japanese. It was probable that when the report reached Matsmai the commander of that island would say he could do nothing without the authority of the general government; thus I should, perhaps, have to wait until winter for a decisive answer. I therefore stated that I could not wait so long without consulting the officers who remained on board the *Diana*, and that I would leave no officer as a hostage: upon which we rose to go away.

The Governor, who had hitherto conversed in a soft and gentle voice, now altered his tone, spoke loud and with warmth; frequently mentioned Resanoto (Resanoff) and Nicola-Sandrejetsch (Nicolai Alexandroivitch, meaning Chwostoff the captain of the company's ship) and struck several times on his sabre. In this manner he made a long speech, of which the terrified Alexei interpreted to us only the following sentence:—"The Governor says that if he let a single one of us out of the castle his own bowels will be ript up." This was brief and decisive! We instantly made all

the haste we could to escape. The Japanese did not venture to close upon us, but set up a loud cry and threw oars, and large pieces of wood at us, to knock us down. On our reaching the gate they fired several times on us, but without effect, though one of their balls whistled past the head of Mr. Chlebnikoff. We now found that they had succeeded in detaining Mr. Moor, the sailor Makaroff and our Kurile Alexei in the castle. We ran, however, to our landing place ; but on arriving there, perceived with horror that the tide had ebbed about five fathoms and left the strand quite dry. As the Japanese saw that it was impossible for us to get the boat afloat, and had previously ascertained that it contained no arms, they became confident, advanced against us with drawn sabres, which they held in both hands, muskets and spears, and surrounded us beside the boat. I cast a look upon the boat, and said to myself ;—It must be so ; our last refuge is lost ; our fate is unavoidable !—I surrendered. The Japanese seized me by the arms and conducted me to the castle, into which my unfortunate companions were also conveyed. On the way thither a soldier struck me several times on the shoulder with a small iron bar, but one of the officers said something to him, accompanied with a look of displeasure, and he immediately discontinued.

## CHAPTER II.

WE were carried into the same tent in which we had held the conference, but neither of the commanders with whom we had communicated were now there. The first thing done was to tie our hands slightly behind our backs, and conduct us into an extensive but low building which resembled a barrack, and which was situated on the opposite side of the tent towards the shore. Here we were all, except Makaroff, (whom we had not seen since our separation) placed on our knees, and bound in the cruelest manner with cords about the thickness of a finger: and yet this was not enough; another binding, with smaller cords followed, which was still more painful. The Japanese are exceedingly expert at this work, and it would appear that they conform to some precise regulation in binding their prisoners, for we were all tied exactly in the same manner. There were the same number of knots and nooses, and all at equal distances, on the cords with which each of us was bound. There were loops round our breasts and necks; our elbows almost touched each other, and our hands were firmly bound together; from these fastenings

proceeded a long cord, the end of which was held by a Japanese, and which on the slightest attempt to escape, required only to be drawn to make the elbows come in contact, with the greatest pain, and to tighten the noose about the neck to such a degree as to produce strangulation. Besides all this, they tied our legs in two places, above the knees and above the ancles: they then passed ropes from our necks over the cross beams of the building, and drew them so tight that we found it impossible to move. Their next operation was searching our pockets, out of which they took every thing, and then proceeded very tranquilly to smoke tobacco.—While they were binding us, the Lieutenant-Governor shewed himself twice, and pointed to his mouth, to intimate perhaps that it was intended to feed us, not to kill us.

We passed an hour in this melancholy and painful situation, without being able to form any idea of what was to be done with us. We indeed supposed, when the ropes were passed over the cross beams that we were about to be hanged. I never so totally despised death as at that moment, and I wished with all my heart that the murder we anticipated might be perpetrated without delay. We once fancied that we should be carried to the outside of the castle, and hung up within sight of our countrymen, and in our state of despair this notion was in some measure consolatory.—I was persuaded that if we were butchered in so inhu-

man a manner before the eyes of our friends and shipmates, their hatred of the Japanese would be further augmented, and their desire of vengeance rendered more ardent, and that when they carried back the news of this massacre to Russia, the same feelings would be excited in the hearts of our Monarch and his people. We should then, in dying, have had the satisfaction to reflect that our death would be avenged, and the Japanese be taught to repent their crime, or even to deplore our fate. At last, they removed the cords from above the ancles and loosened a little those above the knees and led us from the castle, first into a field, and then into a wood. We were bound so fast that a child, without the least risk could have led us where he pleased. The Japanese, however, did not think so lightly of the business. Each was led with a cord, by a particular conductor, and had also an armed soldier walking by his side. In this manner we moved onward, one behind the other.

On ascending a hill we saw our ship under sail. This sight lacerated my heart. When Mr. Chlebnikoff, who was immediately behind me, exclaimed “*Wassly Michailovitsch!* take a last look of our *Diana!*” it seemed as though a deadly poison had been running through my veins. Good heaven! thought I, how much do these words comprehend? —Take a last look of Russia; of Europe; we belong now to another world! we are not dead,



but all there is lost and dead to us. Never more shall we know what is passing in our country, in Europe, or in any part of the world ! I felt all the terrors of my situation.

When we had walked the distance of two wersts, we heard a cannonade. We could easily distinguish the firing of our sloop from that of the castle ; but the strong garrison of the Japanese, and the thick earthen wall which formed their fortification, did not permit us to expect any fortunate result from the contest. We were afraid lest the *Diana* might catch fire or run aground, and the whole crew fall into the hands of the Japanese. In this case the knowledge of our dreadful fate would never reach Russia ! What I most dreaded, however, was, that the attachment which Lieutenant Rikord and the other officers entertained for me, would induce them to overlook every danger, and to land with the crew in order to storm the garrison. They might, I feared, make the attempt, as they were not aware how greatly the strength of the garrison exceeded that of the sloop's crew ; which officers, seamen, and servants amounted only to fifty-one men. This idea troubled me the more as we could learn nothing of the fate of the *Diana*.

I was so tightly bound, particularly about the neck, that, before we had travelled six or seven wersts, I could scarcely breathe. My companions told me that my face was swoln and discoloured.

I was almost blind, and could not speak without the greatest difficulty. We made signs to the Japanese, and requested them, through Alexei, to loosen the cord a little, but the cannonade so frightened them, that they paid no attention to our remonstrances ; they only urged us to move faster, and kept constantly looking behind them. Life now appeared a heavy burthen to me, and I resolved in case we should have to pass a river, to make a sudden spring into the water, and thus terminate a painful existence. I soon saw, however, that it would not be easy to execute this purpose, as the Japanese always held us fast by the arms when we had occasion to cross even a little brook. I fell at length senseless on the ground ; when I recovered, I found the Japanese sprinkling me with water, and the blood flowing from my mouth and nose. My unfortunate companions, Moor and Chlebnikoff, were, with tears in their eyes, begging the Japanese to loosen the cords with which I was bound. They at last, with the greatest difficulty, prevailed on them to comply. I then found myself much eased, and was soon able to make an effort to proceed.

After completing a journey of about ten wersts, we arrived at a small village, situated on the straits which divide this island from Matsmai. We were conducted into a house, where boiled rice was offered us, but we felt no desire to taste food of any kind. On our declining to eat. we were taken

into another apartment, in which we were laid down close to the walls so as not to touch each other. The ropes, by which we had been led, were attached to iron hooks driven into the wall for that purpose. Our boots were pulled off and our legs tied as before in two places; when the Japanese had disposed of us in this way, they sat down in the middle of the room round a chafing dish, and drank tea and smoked. Any man might have slept tranquilly beside lions, had they been bound as fast as we were, the Japanese, however, never thought themselves secure. The cords with which we were tied, were inspected every quarter of an hour. At this moment we regarded them as the rudest barbarians on the face of the earth, but subsequent events proved that there are worthy men among them; and we were afterwards rendered more comfortable, indeed as much so as men could be under such circumstances.

The sailor Makaroff who had been separated from us in the castle, but who now joined us, related that as soon as the Japanese seized him, they took him to a barrack where the soldiers treated him with sagi and boiled rice, and that he eat every thing that was offered him with the keenest appetite. They then bound his hands and conveyed him out of the fort, but when they had taken him to a short distance he was unbound. In this way they conducted him to the village where he was again tied. He was allowed to

to rest on the way, and one of the soldiers gave him a draught of *sagi* out of his flask.

In this situation we remained the whole of the night. Even now, the bare reflexion of that moment, fills me with horror ! My own fate, however, was not my first consideration. I would willingly have made any sacrifice to release my unfortunate companions from their bondage ; for I alone had been the cause of their misfortune ! In the mean time the generous conduct of my two officers, Moor and Chlebnikoff, made a deep impression upon me. Instead of casting the slightest reflexion on my rash confidence in the Japanese, they endeavoured to console me, and reproached some of the sailors when they began to murmur, and to ascribe their misfortune to my want of prudence. I can, however, declare that no murmurs ever caused me to feel the slightest dissatisfaction towards those men. They had, indeed, ample reason for complaint, but while they bewailed their distressed situation, they observed such respect towards me, that I felt there complaints most severely. Our misfortune had placed us all on a footing of equality. Every hope of returning to Russia had vanished, and consequently men in their situation might have been expected to let loose their tongues against me in revenge for what they suffered. But our sailors were incapable of such conduct.

Notwithstanding the excessive and almost insupportable pain which the bandages had occa-

sioned in my wrists and every joint in my body, yet severe anguish of mind rendered me, for the moment, regardless of all bodily suffering ; every attempt at moving my position or even turning my head was accompanied by the most indescribable agony : I frequently prayed for death as the greatest of blessings.

We observed that the captain of our guard repeatedly received scraps of paper, which he read and handed to those about him. On reading those papers, they discoursed in a very low tone of voice, and with the utmost caution ; though we understood not a single word of Japanese, they nevertheless seemed fearful lest we should comprehend what they said. I desired Alexei, to attend to their conversation, and to endeavour to make us acquainted with it. He told me that the Japanese had received these papers from the garrison, and that they were talking of our sloop, and the Russians, but this was all he could collect from their discourse.

At the approach of twilight, our guards began to bestir themselves, and seemed to be preparing for a journey. About midnight a broad plank was brought in, to the four corners of which ropes were attached ; these ropes were fastened at the top, and slung across a pole, the ends of which were laid on men's shoulders, and thus the whole was suspended. The Japanese placed me upon this plank and immediately bore me away. We now concluded that we were to be separated for ever,

and that we could entertain no hope of seeing each other again. Our farewell was like the parting of friends at the hour of death.

The sailors wept aloud as they bade me adieu, and my heart was wrung on leaving them. I was conveyed to the sea-side and placed in a large boat, with a mat beneath me. In a few moments, Mr. Moor was likewise brought to the shore in the same way as I had been, and placed in the boat beside me. This was indeed an unexpected happiness, I was so overjoyed that, for a few moments, I experienced a diminution of my torment. Moor was soon followed by Mr. Chlebnikoff, and the sailors, Simanoff and Wassiljeff; the rest were placed in another boat. A soldier under arms, was stationed between each of us. After we were covered over with mats, the boats were rowed from the shore.

The Japanese sat beside us without either saying a word, or taking the slightest notice of our complaints, except, however, a young man, about twenty years of age, who spoke the Kurile language, and who kept constantly singing and mocking us while he assisted in rowing the boat. He counterfeited the sound of our voices, when anguish both of body and mind forced us to offer up supplications to Heaven, or to break forth in bitter lamentations.

At break of day, on the 12th of July, we landed near a little village, on the coast of the Island of

Matsmai. Here we were removed into other boats, which were drawn with ropes along the shore in a south-easterly direction. In this way we were dragged the whole of that day and the following night. There was no halting, except at certain fixed places, where the men, who were employed in the dragging, and who came from the neighbouring villages, were relieved. The whole coast was indeed thickly strewed with buildings and habitations of various kinds. Between every third or fourth verst we observed populous villages, in all of which extensive fisheries appeared to be carried on.

The methods adopted by the Japanese in this branch of industry, are in many respects singular. We frequently passed by at the moment when they were drawing their large nets out of the water, filled with an incalculable number of fish.\* The best fish in these parts, are of the salmon species, and are likewise caught in Kamtschatka.

The Japanese frequently offered us stewed rice and broiled fish, and when any one of our party expressed a wish to partake of these dishes, they lifted the food to his mouth with two or three pieces of sticks, which are used by them instead of forks.

The Japanese even carried their attention to us

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\* The Japanese usually throw out their large nets at a distance of from twenty to twenty-five fathoms from the shore. There they suffer them to remain until they are filled with fish, which are extremely abundant during the fishing season. A number of men then seize both ends and drag them ashore with one pull.

so far, that some of them stood constantly near us with boughs of shrubs in their hands to drive off the gnats and flies. We were not a little surprised at this inconsistent conduct ; for, notwithstanding their excessive care to protect us from the flies, they shewed the utmost indifference to our complaints, and never offered to ease our sufferings by loosening the cords with which we were bound. We had, indeed, but little kindness to expect from them. To suffer us to pine away our lives in everlasting imprisonment, instead of putting us to death, was, in their opinion, the greatest act of mercy they could shew us. The bare thought of never again enjoying liberty, was to me, however, a thousand times more dreadful than death. But even on the brink of an abyss, man seldom abandons Hope, and we now sought consolation in her smiles. We might some time or other find an opportunity of escaping. The Japanese, who were cautious in consequence of our vessels being still in the neighbourhood of their coasts, might, one day or other, be induced to loosen our bonds without reflecting on what despair might force us to attempt. We might even find an opportunity of getting possession of a boat in which we could proceed to the Tartar coast. From thence, under pretence of shipwreck, we might easily obtain a conveyance to Peking, and, with the consent of the Chinese Government, it would be no difficult matter to gain permission to proceed to Kiachta. Thus



we pictured our return to Russia, our dear native country. But these pleasing reveries quickly vanished ; and we recognized the truth of the Russian proverb, which says: "It is easy to think, but not so easy to do." That the Japanese would not keep us eternally bound with ropes, was indeed no improbable supposition : yet what would avail us the freedom of our hands and feet, since that freedom would doubtless only be enjoyed within four high walls, and behind an iron grating. Where then was the coast of Tartary, where *Kiachta*. With this reflection the last ray of hope became extinct, and our souls were filled with the blackest despair. I frequently thought that had shipwreck or any other misfortune thrown me into the hands of the Japanese, I would never have murmured at my fate, but have borne my sad imprisonment with resignation. I should then have cheerfully entered the fortress, willing to render myself useful to the Japanese, and regarding them as friends ; or, had I, who was the sole cause of the misfortune, been the only one to suffer from it, I should not at least have been tormented by self-reproach ; but seven of my crew were likewise doomed to pay the forfeit of my imprudence !

My companions sought to banish these feelings of remorse from my mind. Mr. Moor, who perceived that I was harassed with vexation at having been over-reached by the Japanese, referred to several historical examples, to prove that men of

higher rank than myself, such as Cook, De Langle, Prince Zizianoff and others had become the victims of similiar accidents. Yet I thought their fate far preferable to my own. They suddenly perished, whilst I was doomed to live, the cause and the witness of the sufferings of my companions. To the honour of Mr. Chlebnikoff, I must declare that he manifested more resignation than any of our party. He never murmured, but consoled himself with the reflection, that no human wisdom or foresight could have averted a misfortune, to which in his opinion, we had been doomed by all-governing fate. I, however, entertained very different notions of predestination. In my opinion, such men as are to blame for their own misfortunes, are as a warning to others, justly visited with the pain of repentance and sorrow; but, on the contrary, those whom fate has plunged into a state of misery, which no earthly wisdom or foresight could have averted, can have no remorse, and therefore bear their destiny with calmness.

At break of day, on the 13th of July, we stopped to breakfast at a little village, the inhabitants of which immediately collected on the shore to look at us. A grey-haired man, of very venerable appearance, begged that our guards would allow him to furnish us with a breakfast and some sagi. This permission was granted, and the old man stood near the boats during the whole time of the repast, to see that we wanted for nothing. The expression

of his countenance plainly shewed that he sincerely pitied us. This trait of benevolence and sympathy for our misfortunes, in an utter stranger, afforded us no little consolation. We now began to entertain a better opinion of the Japanese, and no longer regarded them in so barbarous a light, as their former conduct seemed to justify.

When we had finished our breakfast, the boats were again dragged along the shore. The weather was calm and serene ; the thick clouds, which before obscured the horizon, had now dispersed. All the neighbouring hills and coasts, including Kuna-shier and the banks which gird its fatal harbour, lay full before us, brightened by the gleam of the morning ; but our *Diana* had disappeared. Indeed to have beheld her, would only have increased our affliction. An hour or two before sun rise, we stopped in front of some huts, which were inhabited by Kuriles. Here the Japanese, assisted by the Kuriles, pulled the boats ashore, without desiring either us or our guards to get out, and having dragged us through several thickets and a little wood, they proceeded to ascend a hill, and as they advanced cleared the road out with hatchets and other implements. We were utterly unable to divine what could have induced them to drag boats of such extraordinary size \* up an acclivity

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\* Our boat was at least thirty feet long, and eight feet broad.

we suspected that they had caught a glimpse of the *Diana*, and were consequently fearful of being deprived of their booty. But we soon discovered the real cause, for when the boats had reached the summit of the hill, which was tolerably high, they dragged them down the other side into a little stream which had very much the appearance of an artificial canal. We travelled in this manner by land in the boats about the distance of three or four wersts. During this journey Wassiljeff began to bleed at the nose as profusely as if he had had a vein opened. We begged that the cords, which passed round his throat, might be loosened; but the Japanese paid no regard to our entreaties, and proceeded to insert cotton in his nostrils; but observing that this did not diminish the effusion of blood, they slackened the cords, though in a very slight degree. This cruelty again effaced the good impression which their conduct, a short time before, had made upon our minds, and confirmed us in our first opinion, that they were the most unfeeling of barbarians.

When our boat was dragged into the stream, and fairly afloat, our guards began to treat us somewhat more kindly, probably because they now no longer feared an attack from our sloop. They endeavoured to explain to us by signs, that in the course of eight or ten days we would reach Matsmai, where, after our case should be investigated by their superior authorities, we would be set at

liberty, and permitted to return to Russia. Though we could not place full faith in this assurance, we did not entirely discredit it, and a faint ray of hope again beamed upon us.

The stream emptied itself into a large lake, which communicated with several others. Our boats sailed slowly along this lake the whole of that night, and the day following. When we arrived at places where the water was shallow, the Kuriles jumped out of the boat, and dragged it. It rained violently the whole night, and the Japanese covered us over with mats. These were, however, so frequently tossed off that we found it necessary, every other moment, to request that they would lay them straight again. One of the soldiers, who stood near Mr. Chlebnikoff, was an extremely kind-hearted man, and was always ready to do any thing to serve us : the attention of the rest was, on the contrary, only manifested towards us during the day, they were always displeased if we disturbed them at night. We were completely soaked with rain. One of the guards struck Mr. Moor for troubling him so frequently ; but, for this act of insolence, he was immediately reprimanded by the rest. At midnight, we stopped before a small village or town, to relieve the rowers. Large fires were burning near the shore, by the light of which we discovered a number of Japanese soldiers and Kuriles drawn up rank and file. The former were in their military dresses, wearing

armour, and bearing muskets; the latter were armed with bows and arrows. Their chief stood in front, clothed in a rich silken garment, and holding in one hand a symbol of his power, which somewhat resembled a balance. The captain of our guard advanced towards him with testimonials of the highest respect; and, kneeling down with his head inclined towards the earth, he continued a long time engaged in relating something to him (probably giving him an account of our seizure). The chief then came on board our boat, and inspected each of us with a lantern. I entreated that he would order our guards to loosen the cords with which we were bound. The guards immediately comprehended us, and interpreted our request. Instead of returning an answer, the chief began to laugh, muttering something between his teeth, and stepped ashore. Our boats now quitted the shore, and rowed off.

On the night of the 15th, we suddenly stopped before a large fire, which had been kindled on the shore. There our guards unbound our feet, and conducted us to the fire. After we had warmed ourselves we ascended a high hill, and entered a large empty building, which had probably served as a store-house, and in which there was no aperture except the door. There our conductors laid us down, provided us with covering, and having again bound our feet in the same way as before, presented us with boiled rice

and fish. The Japanese now began to drink tea, and smoke tobacco, and seemed to give themselves no further concern about us. On the 15th, it rained violently the whole day; we therefore remained where we were, and, indeed, scarcely ever altered our positions. Three times, in the course of the day, the Japanese gave us boiled rice, fish, and a kind of soup made of mushrooms.

On the morning of the 16th, the sky became serene, and our guards made preparations to depart. The bandages above our ancles were now removed, but those above our knees were merely loosened so as to enable us to walk: our boots were then drawn on, and we were conducted into the open air. We were now asked whether we preferred walking or being carried in litters? We all chose to walk, except Alexei, who complained of excessive pain in his feet. The Japanese Oyagoda\* took a considerable time to determine on the order of our procession; however, he at length disposed of us in the following manner: two Japanese from the neighbouring village proceeded first, walking side by side, and carrying staves of red wood, very handsomely carved; their office was to direct our course. These were relieved, on entering the next district, by two new guides, carrying staves of the same description. The guides

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\* Commander of the district.

were followed by three soldiers. Next came my turn, with a soldier on one hand, and on the other an attendant who, with a twig, kept the gnats and flies from fixing upon me. Behind me was a conductor, who held together the ends of the ropes with which I was bound. We were followed by a party of Kuriles, carrying my litter \* ; and after them another party, who were destined to relieve the others, when they became fatigued. Next came Mr. Moor, guarded in the same manner as I was, after him Mr. Chlebnikoff, then the sailors, one after the other, and last of all Alexei. The whole retinue was closed by three soldiers, and a number of Japanese and Kurile servants carrying provisions, and the baggage of our escort. The party must have amounted to between one hundred and fifty and two hundred men. Each individual had a wooden tablet suspended from his girdle, on which was an inscription, stating with which of us he was stationed, and what were the duties of his office. The Oyagoda had all this marked down on a list of their names.

The Japanese frequently halted to rest on the way,

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\* This litter consisted of a plank, about four feet, or four and a half long, and two and a half feet broad. At each corner of the plank twigs were fixed, the upper ends of which were fastened together at a distance of four feet above the plank. Through these twigs a pole was passed, which the Kuriles bore on their shoulders, walking three before and three behind. The litter was covered over with matting, in order to shelter it from the rain.



and always offered us boiled rice, salt fish, dried herrings and mushrooms ; tea, without sugar, was our only drink. About noon, they entered a tolerably spacious and neat country house, for the purpose of dining. The owner of this house, who was a young man, furnished us himself with provisions and sagi. He ordered beds to be prepared for us, and entreated that we would rest there for the night. To this our conductors gave their assent ; but we expressed a wish to proceed on our journey. The excessive pain of our arms induced us to wish as quickly as possible to arrive at our journey's end ; for, if we could place confidence in the assurance of the Japanese, we were to be unbound on reaching Matsmai. In the afternoon we proceeded at a very rapid pace, as our guards wished to reach the town of Atkis before night. We were likewise equally anxious to advance, since they assured us that, on arriving there, we should be unbound for a while, and that a surgeon would be directed to dress the sores which the tying of the ropes had occasioned on our arms and legs. The weather was fine, but excessively warm. We almost <sup>at</sup>fainted with fatigue, and were scarcely able to advance another step ; to seat ourselves comfortably in the litters was impossible, for they were so small, that it was necessary, when we tried to use them, to contract the body, and as our hands were bound, we were unable to change the position in which we happened to be placed without

assistance. We experienced the utmost pain in every part of the body. Unfortunately too, our road lay along a foot path which crossed a forest, and as the Kuriles advanced with great rapidity, our litters frequently came in contact with the trunks of the trees. This occasioned an insupportable shock, and after an experiment of ten minutes duration, we were usually obliged to get out of our litters and to proceed on foot.

A short time before sunset we reached a little stream, where two boats were waiting for us. This stream, we were informed, communicated with the harbour upon which Atkiss was built, and whither we soon expected to arrive. Mr. Moor, myself, and two sailors, were placed in one of the boats, and Mr. Chlebnikoff, and the rest of our party in the other. The boats were hung round with matting, so that, excepting the sky, every external object was screened from our sight. Men in a situation like our's, are naturally inclined to notice mere trifles, and try, if possible, to derive consolation from every occurrence. We, accordingly, regarded this circumstance in a favourable point of view, and concluded that the distrust of the Japanese had induced them to veil the bay and sea-port from our observation, to prevent us from acquiring further knowledge of that part of their coast. If so, thought we, our guards are right in supposing that our imprisonment will not last for ever, and that sooner or later we shall obtain our

freedom. Why else should they conceal from us an object, the sight of which, if we were to be imprisoned for life, we could never turn to their disadvantage? This thought revived our hopes, so that we almost forgot our misery, and were as cheerful as though the period of our liberation had already approached. In the meanwhile our boats reached the bay. Our flattering anticipations were now at their height, when one of the soldiers suddenly tore down part of the matting, and by a sign gave us to understand that we might rise and take a view of the city and bay. Heavens! we were in a moment plunged from the highest pinnacle of hope into the deepest despair! The idea of regaining our freedom seemed all a dream; the Japanese, said we, conceal nothing from us; there is, therefore, little ground for supposing that they will liberate us of their own accord. Though this circumstance tended greatly to depress our spirits, yet hope never completely forsook us. We soon recollected that a Russian transport had entered the same bay twenty years before; and that, consequently, the Japanese could have no reason to conceal from us that with which the Russians had long since been acquainted. We should, however, have enjoyed much greater consolation of mind, had the soldier left the mat standing, the use of which was probably to keep off the flies, and not to deprive us of a view of the bay and city.

It was night when we entered Atkis. A detach-

ment of soldiers came out to meet us, and conducted us to the castle, which was hung round with striped cotton cloth. We were shewn into a neat house, the interior of which was remarkably clean and adorned with paintings after the Japanese taste. We all entered a large apartment, to the walls of which planks with iron hooks were affixed, and to these hooks the ends of our ropes were fastened. Our guards besides supplied us with beds and cotton coverlets,\* and gave us some supper, they then bound our feet as before, and in this situation we remained until next morning.

On the 17th of July we rested in Atkis. In the morning our hands were unbound for a few minutes, and rags were rolled round the parts on which the skin was broken. We were utterly

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\* The Japanese beds consist, according to the circumstances of the owners, of large silken or cotton quilts; these quilts are lined with thick wadding, which is taken out previous to their being washed. The Japanese fold their coverlets double and spread them on the floor, which, even in the humblest cottages, is covered with beautiful soft straw mats. On retiring to rest, the Japanese wrap themselves in large night-dresses, with short full sleeves; these are likewise either of cotton or silk, and are thickly wadded. Instead of pillows, they make use of pieces of wood carved in various forms. The common people place under their heads a piece of round wood hollow at one end; and, from custom, sleep as soundly on this as on the softest pillow. The higher or richer classes make use of a very neat box, about eleven inches high, to the lid of which an oval cushion is affixed, from six to eight inches in length and from two to three in breadth. This box contains articles which they make use of at the toilette, such as razors, scissors, pomatum, tooth-brushes, powder, &c.

unable to place our hands in their natural position; and when the Japanese forced them asunder, the pain was excruciating, and far more severe than when they bound them together again. We received food three times every day, and were provided with cotton wadded night-gowns to throw over our own clothes, in order to protect us from the cold and rain.

On the morning of the 18th, we passed over to a village on the south-side of the bay, where we breakfasted, and then proceeded on our journey in the manner before described. Our litters were still carried behind us, and we might have lain down if we had wished. Our conductors, for the most part, proceeded on foot, though they occasionally, by way of relaxation, for a short time mounted pack-horses.

During the whole journey, the Japanese uniformly observed the same regulations. At day-break, we prepared for our departure, breakfasted, and then set out. Our conductors frequently stopped in villages to rest, or to drink tea and smoke tobacco. At noon we dined. Having rested for one hour after dinner, we again proceeded, and an hour or two before sun-set we halted for the night, usually in a village furnished with a small garrison. These night-quarters, when we first entered, were generally hung round with striped cotton cloth. We were always conducted

to a neat house\*, and placed altogether in one apartment, where our guards never failed to fasten us to iron hooks which were fixed into the walls.

When we arrived at the station where we were to pass the night, we were always conducted to the front of the house belonging to the person possessing the highest authority in the place ; we were there seated on benches covered with mats, and he came out to inspect us. We were then taken to the house allotted for our lodging ; on entering which, our boots and stockings were pulled off, and our feet bathed with warm water, in which there was a solution of salt. We were regularly provided with meals three times a day ; namely, breakfast in the morning before we set out on our journey, dinner about noon, and supper in the evening, in our night-quarters. There was, however, little variety in our diet ; it consisted usually of boiled rice instead of bread, two pieces of pickled radish for seasoning, broth made of radishes or various wild roots and herbs, a kind of macaroni, and a piece of broiled or boiled fish. Sometimes they gave us stewed mushrooms, and each a hard-boiled egg. There was no limitation as to quantity, every one eat as much as he pleased.

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\* On one occasion only, we were quartered in a little village, in an empty magazine, which had previously served as a store-house for rice. The heat of this place was quite insupportable ; and the multitude of vermin crawling on the ground rendered it disgusting in the utmost degree.

Our general beverage was very indifferent tea, without sugar; they seldom gave us *sagi*. Our guards fared as we did; and I suppose the expense of their provisions as well as ours, was defrayed by the Government, for, at each station, the senior among our conductors paid for every thing.

On the 19th, we implored the Japanese to untie our hands, in order that we might better arrange the pieces of cloth which had been wrapped about them, and which had become so hard with blood and purulent matter, that the friction produced by the slightest movement, caused extreme pain. In consequence of our solicitations, they sat down in a circle, and held a council.\* After some deliberation, it was resolved to grant our request; but under the condition that we should be again searched, and every article of metal taken from us. This had been already done in the castle, but the Japanese thought it necessary to repeat the precaution. We readily complied, and they hastened to relieve us from our torment. I had in the under part of my dress a key, which they did not discover in their search, and I shewed it them when my hands were free. This threw them into a dreadful alarm, and they began to search me

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\* Our escort consisted of soldiers belonging to the principality of Nambu. They were all of equal rank, and though they were generally directed by the oldest among them, in any case which required a departure from the common course of things, consulted altogether.

over again. Their caution, however, or rather their fear, would not allow all our hands to be loose at once, but only two at a time, and merely for the space of fifteen minutes. They then changed the cloth bandages, and tied our hands as before.

This day an officer, who had been dispatched from Kunashier, came up with us, and took the command of our guard.\* He treated us with great kindness; and, on the following day (the 20th) ordered our hands to be unbound, leaving the elbows tied. We were now, for the first time since our imprisonment, able to use our hands in taking food, and the motion of walking was much easier to us. When we had to be ferried over in boats from one point of land to another our hands were re-bound; but these passages were short, and seldom occurred. The Japanese exercised so much precaution, that they would scarcely ever allow us to go near the water in our march; when we wished to approach it, as walking on the soft sand eased our feet, it was with great difficulty they could be induced to grant our request, and then always walked between us and the water, even

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\* From his splendid dress, and the respect which our escort shewed him, we concluded that he was a person of distinction; but we afterwards learned that he was merely a private in the service of the Emperor of Japan, and, as an imperial soldier, had rank and privileges far superior to the soldiers of a principality. Our art regarded him as their officer; he never eat with them, and particular apartment was always assigned to him.



when there was not room to do so without wetting themselves. They were not only thus vigilant in preserving us from the commission of suicide, but also in guarding us against every thing which they thought might injure our health. They took care that our feet should never be wet, and we were all carried, sailors as well as officers, over the shallowest pools or streamlets we had to cross. In the course of our journey, we often met with raspberries and strawberries, which, at first, they would not allow us to pluck, as they conceived them to be unfavourable to the health. We asserted, however, that quite the contrary opinion prevailed in Russia, and were at last permitted to refresh ourselves with the fruit.

We passed the 21st and 22d in a village which, though but small, had a garrison and a commandant. The rain had raised a river to such a height as to prevent us from prosecuting our journey. There was in this village a professor of the medical art, who was ordered to do something to remove the effects of the severe binding we had undergone. For this purpose he employed a powder which very much resembled white ceruse, and which he strewed on the wounds. To the swellings and indurations on the hands and fingers, he applied white plaister, the ingredients composing which I could not discover. We soon experienced great ease from the operation of his medicaments, a sufficiency of which for use during our journey was provided.

We could now sleep tranquilly and walk wi

ease. When we were fatigued, we reposed in our litters, in which we found it practicable to remain without experiencing any particular pain. The behaviour of the Japanese was more and more kind. At every station the person first in authority, in the village, always visited us, remained some hours with us, and made frequent inquiries relative to Laxman and the Russians who accompanied him, whom some of the Japanese still recollected. They also often mentioned Resanoff. They praised the former, and held out the hope to us that the Japanese Government would not condemn us to perpetual imprisonment, but would, in due time, set us free. It struck us as very remarkable that none of the Japanese who conversed with us alluded in the most distant manner to the conduct of Chwostoff, though they spoke much of other Russians whose names were known to them, and frequently mentioned the Japanese who had lived in Russia, and who, they said, were exceedingly well satisfied with their reception and treatment in our country. We knew not to what cause this forbearance was to be attributed ; whether to a wish not to throw us into despair by reminding us of the conduct of our countrymen, for which we had no reason to expect a kind return, or from an equally delicate desire to avoid questions which might make us blush for offences in which we had no share.

In every village, on our arrival and departure, we were surrounded with crowds of both

sexes, young and old, whom curiosity to see us drew together, and yet on these occasions we never experienced the slightest insult or offence. All, particularly the women, contemplated us with an air of pity and compassion. If we asked for drink, they were emulous to supply us; many asked permission of our guards to entertain us, and on their request being granted, brought us sags, comfits, fruits or other delicacies. On one occasion the chief of a village treated us with good tea and sugar.\* They often inquired respecting an European nation called Orando, and a country to which they gave the name of Kaho. We assured them that we knew of no such people or countries in Europe; upon which they expressed surprise and

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\* The Japanese have tea of native growth, both black and green; the former is however very bad; it is like the Chinese tea only in colour, but bears no resemblance to it in taste or smell. The Japanese constantly drink it both warm and cold, without sugar, as the Russians do Kwas; as for the green tea they drink it seldom and as a luxury. They previously roast or heat it at the fire, in paper canisters, until the vapour issuing from it has a very strong smell; it is then thrown into a copper tea-kettle, containing boiling water, and thus acquires a particular flavour, of which the Japanese are very fond, though it proved most disagreeable to us: they have no loaf sugar. Muscovado of the best sort is brought to them by the Dutch; it is sold in little baskets and is very dear. They have brown sugar of their own, but it is very dirty, dark coloured, and by no means sweet. They very seldom drink sugar with their tea, but prefer eating it by itself. They usually take a spoonful in one hand and eat it like little children. When we offered our guards any of the sugar which had been given to us in presents, they always refused it with awkward reverences; but no sooner did we fall asleep, then they eat it all up by stealth.

testified distrust at our answer. Sometime after we learned that the Japanese called the Dutch, Orando and the Cape of Good Hope, *Kabo*. Our not understanding them, was owing to the stupidity of our interpreter Alexei. We regretted excessively having given the Japanese cause to suspect that we concealed from them any information we possessed. We now entertained a very good opinion of them, and were persuaded that nothing but the inhuman conduct of our countrymen could have induced them to treat us with cruelty. Without having received any satisfactory explanation of that affair, they now began to shew kindness towards us. We felt certain that they would immediately liberate us, could we only convince them that our government had no share in the proceedings of the Russian vessel. We began therefore to look upon our liberation as an event which might possibly take place, and flattered ourselves with the hope of, one day or other, returning to our native country. But a fresh difficulty arose !

Alexei, with whom we had frequent opportunities of conversing in the course of our journeys, as well as in the night-quarters, informed us, that about ten years ago some *Kamtschatdale* priests had conveyed a party of *Kuriles\**, in a *baidare*, from the Island of *Raschaua* to *Eetooroop*, which is under the dominion of the Japanese, for the purpose of con-

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\* Among their *Kuriles* were Alexei and his father.

verting the hairy Kuriles to Christianity, or as Alexei expressed himself "to teach their people our faith." When we inquired what instruction the Popes had sent to them, he replied: "The Popes gave us a great many copper images of saints, and written prayers\* with pictures, and desired us to shew them to the hairy Kuriles, and to tell them that the images represented the Russian God; and that, if they hung them about their necks, they would live long and happily, would never suffer sickness, and would hereafter exist in another world." He further added, that the Popes received a fox-skin from the Kuriles, in return for every image or prayer. On arriving at Eetooroop they were however seized by the Japanese, who took from them the images and prayer-books. On being asked what these things meant, and why they had brought them thither, they candidly replied: "That the images represented the Russian God, and that they had been sent by the Russians to convert the inhabitants of Eetooroop to the Russian faith." The Japanese placed a strict watch over them, but they were fortunate enough one night to effect their escape, and to reach the shore, where they found a boat in which they rowed off. They were immediately pursued by the Japanese, but a thick fog concealed them, and they reached their island in safety.

This information made a melancholy impres-

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\* Probably printed prayer-books.

sion upon us. Heavens ! thought I, we are doubtless destined to be punished for the faults of others. Though we were convinced of the good intentions of our Monarch towards Japan, and felt conscious of our own innocence, yet we could not exculpate ourselves to a people who possessed such strong evidence against us. Even though we had proved to them that Chwostoff had acted without the knowledge of the Russian Government, how could we ever hope to persuade them, that obscure and ignorant Popes had, to the disgrace of the Christian religion, transported images of saints and prayer-books to a foreign land, for the sole purpose of serving their own interested views ! We never could have convinced the Japanese that this had taken place without the authority of our government. I asked Alexei whether he had informed them of the Popes having exchanged the images and books for fox-skins ? No, he replied, we were afraid to mention that.—Singular fatality ! The Kuriles had concealed the only circumstance which might have served for our justification.

There appeared now no possibility of recovering our freedom with the consent of the Japanese, and flight we regarded as our only resource. I communicated my design to my companions ; first to the officers, and then to the seamen. But how was our plan to be executed ? We knew only of one doubtful and uncertain means : on arriving at our night-quarters, the Japanese always con-

signed us to the care of two or three inhabitants of the village, who had scarcely any arms about them, and who usually seated themselves in the middle of the room, and entered into conversation with each other without paying any attention to us. The soldiers themselves were accustomed to lay their sabres down in a particular spot, at a short distance from us, to undress and wash themselves in bathing tubs ; and having thrown on their night-dress, would stretch themselves before the fire to smoke tobacco. Fires were never kindled in our rooms till dusk. Two of the sailors, Simanoff and Makaroff, and myself were so loosely bound, that we could with ease draw the ropes down from our elbows ; and, as we lay very closely together, we might, in the darkness of the evening, have freed our own hands, and likewise have liberated our companions who were faster bound than we. This might have been done without difficulty ; though our shoulders ached excessively, and our hands were much swollen : yet in a case of necessity we could have managed to make use of them. We had only to wait until we should arrive at a village on the coast where boats were stationed, and when a smart breeze should be blowing from the land. We might then watch an opportunity for seizing the sabres of our guards, and hastening to the shore. So daring an attempt would have overwhelmed the Japanese with terror ; their well known cowardice would have deprived them of

presence of mind ; and whilst they would be engaged in searching for their arms, we might have reached a boat, and have cut the ropes which fastened it to the shore. Before they could have got on board their boats, the wind would probably have driven us to some distance, and it even appeared doubtful whether they would venture to attack us in the open sea, particularly if the waves were in the slightest degree rough. We therefore hoped, assisted by the compass, with which the Japanese boats are always furnished, to reach the coast of Kamtschatka.

This project, however, did not appear altogether practicable : in the first place, we never might find a favourable opportunity for its execution ; secondly, the sailors might not all resolve, as we did, to prefer death to imprisonment, and in our situation we had no controul over them. The Kuriles themselves, who, we observed, hated the Japanese, held out to us another means of escape. Many of these Kuriles, when unobserved by the Japanese, had given our sailors to understand, by means of signs, that they might loosen their ropes and escape into the woods ; but whether they were inclined to assist us, or whether we were ourselves to break from our bondage, and to seek safety by flight, we knew not. We could only make ourselves understood through Alexei, to whom we dared not communicate our design, lest he should betray us ; for owing to the ill-



treatment which he declared his countrymen had experienced from the pelt-hunters, we had reason to suspect that he was much more partial to the Japanese than to the Russians ; we, therefore, suspended our decision for the present, but resolved to be on the watch for a favourable opportunity.

Meanwhile, the Japanese continued to treat us with increasing kindness. Alexei having informed them that the drawing which they found in the cask was executed by Mr. Moor, they earnestly requested that he would make a sketch of a Russian ship. He, of course, supposed he should only be required to make one drawing, and set to work with great alacrity, though he could merely obtain permission to have the ropes which bound his arms slackened in a very slight degree ; having finished his task, the Japanese one after the other requested that he would draw a ship for each of them. He was tormented by their importunities, and Mr. Chlebnikoff undertook to assist him. I knew nothing of drawing, and they therefore requested that I would write something upon their fans. They always requested these favours very courteously, and intreated us to make sketches and inscriptions, not merely for themselves, but for their friends. They sometimes brought us ten or more fans at once, in order that we might inscribe upon them the Russian alphabet, or the Japanese alphabet with the corresponding Russian characters ; our numerals, names, a song, or any thing we might fancy.

They quickly observed that Mr. Moor and Mr. Chlebnikoff wrote better than I, and consequently they never applied to me except when they were fully employed. Our sailors were likewise requested to write, and the Japanese expressed surprise when they excused themselves on the score of inability\*. They considered a specimen of Russian writing as great a curiosity as an inscription in Japanese would be looked upon in Europe, and shewed us a fan upon which were inscribed four lines of a popular Russian song, signed by a person named Babikoff, who, it appeared, had visited Japan along with Laxman. Though these lines must have been written twenty years before we saw them, yet the fan was as clean and fresh as if perfectly new. The owner kept it wrapped up in a sheet of paper, and set so much value upon it, that he would scarcely suffer it to be opened. In the course of

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\* The Japanese make use of two kinds of characters in writing: 1st. A character which is the same as the Chinese, and by which every word is of course expressed by a distinct mark. The Japanese state, that they borrowed their hieroglyphics several thousand years ago from the Chinese, so that the name of any object, though pronounced quite differently in the Japanese and Chinese languages, is expressed by one and the same sign in both. This character is made use of for works of the higher order, for official papers, and for the correspondence of persons of superior rank. 2d. The Japanese alphabet, consisting of forty-eight letters, which is made use of by the common people. Every Japanese, however low his rank, knows how to write in this last character. They were, therefore, exceedingly astonished to find, that of four Russian sailors not one should be able to write.

our journey we must have made inscriptions on at least a hundred fans and sheets of paper for the Japanese. They never obliged us to write, but always requested us to do so with much politeness, and constantly thanked us by raising the writing to their foreheads and bending their bodies. In return they usually gave us some refreshment, or presented us with tobacco for smoking.

When the Japanese occasionally unbound our hands, they took care to hold our pipes for us whilst we smoked, fearing that we might by some means or other convert the pipe into an instrument of suicide ; but of this they soon became weary, and, after a consultation, they resolved to permit us to hold our own pipes, on condition of our fastening to the mouth-pieces, a wooden ball the size of a hen's egg: we laughed at this, and explained to them that it would be a much easier matter to choke ourselves with this ball than with the mere pipe. They then smiled at their own apprehensions, and told us through Alexei, that their laws required that they should watch their prisoners strictly, and use every precaution to prevent them from committing self-destruction.

The curiosity of the Japanese was carried to so great a length, that, at every station at which we halted, we were requested to tell our names, our ages, how many relations we had, where our clothes had been manufactured, &c. Our answers were always set down in writing. They frequently re-

quested the sailors, as well as the two officers and myself, to tell them Russian words, and the names of various things, and they thus formed little vocabularies for themselves. This surprised me very much, and we suspected that they were not induced to question us so closely from mere curiosity, but that they had received orders to that effect from the government; we accordingly became more circumspect in our answers.

The 29th and 30th of July we spent in one place. The Japanese at first told us that they could not proceed on account of the illness of some of the soldiers; but the commandant of the village afterwards informed us, that a deficiency of the requisite number of men prevented him from sending us forward, and that we should continue our journey as soon as he could obtain a reinforcement. From these different accounts we concluded that they were deceiving us, and that our delay was occasioned by some cause which they did not wish to explain. This proved to be the fact. Alexei learnt from some Kuriles, that the place of abode which was preparing for us at Chakodade, whither we were proceeding, was not yet completed, and that three officers\* had been dispatched from that city to meet us, and to give orders for stopping our

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\* We at first supposed that these men were officers of some distinction; they however proved to be only privates, of that description of military which I call imperial soldiers, to distinguish them from the others.

march. These officers soon made their appearance, and informed us, that they had been sent to meet us by the Governor of Chakodade, for the purpose of conducting us to that city, and seeing that we were provided with every thing we stood in need of. The eldest of these officers, who was named Ja-Manda-Gooiso, shewed great attention to us, and, during the journey, constantly marched by our side. We now received food of a quality superior to that with which we had before been supplied. Gooiso assured us that, when we reached Chakodade, we should inhabit a fine house which had been prepared for our reception; that we should enjoy our liberty, and be maintained in an expensive style; and that the most distinguished inhabitants of the place would seek our acquaintance, and invite us to their houses. But when we reflected that we were bound with ropes like the basest criminals, we strongly suspected that Gooiso said all this only with a view to console us. Yet our guards informed us, that whenever any of their most distinguished officers were arrested, they were always bound with ropes,\* even before they were proved to be guilty. Considering then that the customs of the Japanese were totally unlike those of Europe, it was not

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\* Binding with ropes is so common among the Japanese, that even the little boys in schools are punished for idleness and other offences, by having their hands tied behind their backs for a certain time, according to the magnitude of the crime committed by the young culprits.

improbable that persons of rank might associate with us: and Gooiso treated us with so much kindness, that we felt inclined to place faith in what he said rather than in our own conclusions.

Besides our three new conductors another individual was added to our escort. He was an officer in the service of the Prince of Nambu, and as a mark of distinction, a spear with a horse's tail was carried after him. All the rest treated him with the highest respect, and were entirely under his control. His whole duty appeared to consist in keeping a watchful eye over us. Our expenses were defrayed by the three imperial soldiers who had been sent to Chakodade to meet us. One of Gooiso's companions was a very intelligent young man; he was extremely agreeable in conversation, and treated us with the utmost attention and politeness. The other, however, who was a man advanced in life, seldom spoke to us, was seized with an immoderate fit of laughter whenever he looked upon us, and listened with great attention during our conversations with each other. From this last circumstance, we concluded that he must have been one of those Japanese who had lived in Russia, and as he probably understood our language, had been sent for the purpose of collecting information from our discourse. We were confirmed in this suspicion when we recollected, that, in one of the villages at which we had stopped, the commandant's secre-

tary privately informed us, that there were persons in Matsmai who understood the Russian language, though our conductors had never even hinted this to us.

After Gooiso became our conductor, we experienced very different treatment. When we made a halt, the sailors were not suffered to sit upon the same bench with us; our mats were considerably better than theirs; and whenever the situation permitted it, the officers had a particular apartment assigned to them. With regard to our food, however, no difference whatever was observed.

As we were proceeding on our journey, on the 7th of August, we met an officer from Matsmai, who was on his way to Kunashier, to inquire into every circumstance relative to us. When his suite came within sight, we received orders to turn back, at which we were very well pleased. We supposed that the Governor of Matsmai had dispatched this officer for the purpose of ascertaining exactly the events which had passed at Kunashier, and, if our friendly intentions were made manifest, to give orders for removing us to the Russian Kurile Islands that very summer: but our hopes proved unfounded; for we were informed that we must proceed to the nearest village, where the officer wished to have an interview with us. He, however, soon changed his mind, and expressed a

wish to hold a conference with us on the road. We found him seated in a little hut,\* accompanied by two other officers, and with some persons of his suite. We were directed to seat ourselves opposite to him, on a plank, which was supported by two logs of wood and covered over with mats. He asked us our names and ages, and inquired whether we were in good health. All the questions and answers that passed between us were written down by one of his officers, who acted as a secretary. He then wished us a pleasant journey, and desired us to proceed.

We now ascended an eminence, from the summit of which we beheld a vast plain, and the city of Chakodade at some distance before us. On descending the other side of this hill we reached our last night's quarters, the village of Onno; which was the largest and, from its situation, by far the most beautiful of any that we had hitherto seen. It lies in the centre of a valley, which is about twenty-five or thirty wersts in circumference, and is surrounded on three of its sides by high hills, which serve to shelter it against the cold winds. The harbour of Chakodade and the straits of Sangar lie to the south of the village. The valley is intersected by numerous rivulets and small streams. The village is, as it were, built

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\* In all the Japanese territories small cottages or huts are built on the highways, for the accommodation of travellers, at the distance of four or five wersts from each other.



within a garden, for every house is surrounded by a piece of cultivated ground, which is planted with kitchen roots and oriental trees. Besides the culinary vegetables common in Europe, we also observed apple, pear and peach trees, and, in a regular order, hemp, tobacco and rice. Omo is about seven wersts distant from Chakodade.

With regard to the extensive population of Japan, and the remarkable industry of the inhabitants, it may not be superfluous to observe, that during our journey along the coast, which extended to the distance of ~~full~~ one thousand and twenty wersts,\* we beheld populous villages on every bay and creek we got sight of. During the summer some of the people reside in leaf-huts, built between these villages. The whole population is employed in catching, salting and drying fish; they likewise gather a kind of sea-weed, which grows in great abundance on the coast, and which the Russians in these seas call sea-cabbage. This weed they spread out upon the sand to dry; they then collect it together in heaps, resembling haycocks, and cover it over with matting, until the time arrives for loading the vessels, which carry it to the harbour of Nippon. Every thing produced by the sea is considered eatable by the Japanese: fish, marine animals of every description, sea plants

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\* The Japanese make the distance, by land, from Kunashier to Chakodade two hundred and fifty-five rees, and each ree is more than two thousand fathoms of our measure.

and weeds are all made to contribute towards their support. A vast number of individuals gain a livelihood by selling, among the numerous population of Japan, the articles of food which they collect upon the coasts.

The boundary between the Kurile and Japanese villages lies about one hundred and fifty or two hundred wersts distant from Chakodade. The two divisions are separated by a beautiful little stream, which, at the time of our arrival, was so swollen by heavy rains, that it was not without considerable difficulty we succeeded in fording it. The Kurile villages are generally small, consisting of huts without either kitchen-gardens or orchards, and, upon the whole, present an appearance of poverty. The only structures which deserve to be called houses, are those inhabited by the Japanese civil and military officers; they are built in a neat style, kept clean, and have kitchen-gardens and orchards attached to them. The Japanese villages, on the other hand, present a very different aspect. They are large, have regular streets, and the houses, which are all of wood,\* are very neatly built. Every house has a kitchen-garden, and many are furnished with orchards. The cleanliness which prevails in the streets, and houses is truly asto-

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\* Wood is the only article used for building in Japan. The Japanese, however, declare that they can build with stone as well as other nations, but that they are prevented from so doing on account of the violent earthquakes.

nishing. The inhabitants are extremely lively, and content and cheerfulness are painted on every countenance. It cannot, however, be said that the personal appearance of the Kuriles is the opposite of all this. The Matsmai Kuriles are generally tall and strongly made, very active, and far more handsome and manly than the Russian Kuriles, or those who inhabit Eetooroop, and Kunashier.\*

On the morning, of the 8th of August, our conductors made preparation for a formal entrance into the city. They put on new clothes, and armed themselves with coats of mail and helmets. Our breakfast was much better than usual, consisting of a fowl, excellently cooked in a kind of green sauce, which is reckoned a great delicacy among the Japanese. But we did not promise ourselves any good fortune from this circumstance. We always observed that the Japanese treated us very kindly, whenever they were about to communicate to us any unwelcome piece of news. It was even so in

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\* The Kuriles of Matsmai are a distinct race of people from the inhabitants of the other islands, and have a language of their own, which, though it contains many Kurile words, is totally unintelligible to the other Kuriles. Alexer and the inhabitants of Kunashier, and Eetooroop understood each other perfectly well, yet he could not converse with the Matsmai Kuriles without the utmost difficulty, and was frequently quite unable to comprehend their meaning. They must, however, have originally been one and the same people. This is sufficiently proved by the general similarity of their persons and customs, and the great number of words which are common to the languages of both.

the present instance. We had no sooner finished our breakfast, than the Nambu soldiers, who had accompanied us from Kunashier, formally declared\* to us, through Alexei and their Kurile interpreter, that, to their great regret, they were compelled to conduct us into the city bound in the same manner as when we left Kunashier. They accordingly set to work without further preamble ; but Gooiso, his companions, and the Nambu officer, who had recently joined us, opposed the tying of our hands behind us : the soldiers, in a respectful manner, made their counter-representations, and a discussion ensued, which lasted upwards of a quarter of an hour. The soldiers frequently mentioned the Governor of Kunashier, and apparently insisted on executing his commands, which were, that we should be conducted into Chakodade bound as we had left Kunashier. Gooiso immediately dispatched a messenger to Chakodade ; and, after we had advanced two or three wersts beyond Onno, an order arrived for unbinding our hands, which was immediately obeyed. When we came within three wersts of the city, we halted, and stepped into

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\* Whenever the Japanese had any thing to communicate to us, the utmost pomp and ceremony were always observed. They seated themselves in a row, and placed us opposite to them, and their interpreter and Alexei were directed to kneel down on the ground between us. Silence was then proclaimed, and the eldest man among them began to discourse with the interpreter in a deliberate and low tone of voice. The interpreter then translated what he said to Alexei, who in his turn communicated it to us.

a little hut, to wait for further orders respecting our entrance.

In the meanwhile a vast number of individuals, of both sexes, old and young came from Chakodade, to see us. We observed several men on horseback in silken dresses, which, as well as the rich harnessing of their horses, proved that they were persons of rank. In the afternoon the procession began to move with great pomp. Both sides of the road were crowded with spectators, yet every one behaved with the utmost decorum. I particularly marked their countenances, and never once observed a malicious look, or any signs of hatred towards us, and none shewed the least disposition to insult us by mockery and derision.

We, at length, entered the city, where the concourse of people was so immense that our guards had great difficulty in clearing a passage for us. Having proceeded to the distance of half a werst along a narrow street, we turned down a cross street on our left, which led us into the open fields. Here, upon a rising ground, we first beheld the building which was destined to be our prison. The very sight of it filled me with horror. We saw only the long roof ; but that sufficiently enabled us to form a notion of the extent of the edifice. A high wooden enclosure or fence, which was of great strength and which was well provided with chevaux-de-frise, con-

cealed the body of the building. This wooden fence was surrounded by an earthen wall, somewhat lower, which, on this occasion, was hung with striped cloth. There was a guard-house near the gate, in which several officers were seated. Along the path which conducted to our prison soldiers were stationed in full military dresses : they stood at the distance of two fathoms from each other, and were armed in various ways ; some with muskets, some with bows and arrows, and others with spears, etc. A party of officers were stationed in front of the building. On arriving at the gate we were received by an officer to whom a list of our escort had previously been handed, and we were then conducted into a sort of court or yard. Here our future gloomy and horror-stirring residence presented itself fully to our view. It was a large dark building resembling a barn, and within it were apartments formed of strong thick spars of wood, which, excepting the difference of size, looked exactly like bird cages. The darkness, however, did not permit us to observe the whole at once.

The Japanese placed us in a row near the fence, and began to consult with each other respecting the way in which they should dispose of us. We remained for half an hour in a state of fearful anxiety. At length, Mr. Moor and I were asked which of the sailors we wished should remain with us ? We were overjoyed at this question, and inquired whether Mr. Chlebnikoff might be with us ? But

this the Japanese objected to, and informed us that they thought it improper to leave private sailors without an officer, who would teach them, by his example and advice, to bear unavoidable misfortunes ; adding that the men might otherwise lose courage, and become the victims of despair. Upon this they conducted me, followed by Mr. Moor and Schkajeff along one side of the building, the rest of our companions being conveyed round to the other. Our eyes were bathed in tears at this separation, which we apprehend was to be eternal.

I was led into a passage or lobby in the building, where my boots were drawn off, and the ropes, with which I was bound, removed. I was then directed to enter a small apartment, which was divided from the passage by wooden palisades. I now looked around me in quest of Mr. Moor and Schkajeff, but how great was my astonishment to find that I could neither see nor hear them. The Japanese, without saying a word, closed the door of my apartment, and quitted the lobby, the door of which they likewise closed after them. I was now alone. The thought of being separated from my companions, perhaps separated for ever, completely overpowered me, and overwhelmed with despair I threw myself upon the ground.

## CHAPTER III.

I REMAINED for some time in a state of insensibility. At length having raised my eyes, I observed, at the window, a man who beckoned on me to approach him. I complied with his wish, and reaching his hand through the railing he presented me with two little sweet cakes : at the same time entreating me by signs, to eat them quickly, as a punishment awaited him if he should be observed. At that moment I loathed the very sight of food ; but I made an effort to eat the cakes, lest a refusal might have given offence to my kind visitor. His countenance now brightened up, and he left the window with a promise to bring me more at a future time. I thanked him as well as I was able, and was greatly astonished that a man, (who from his dress apparently belonged to the very lowest class,) should be actuated by so powerful a feeling of benevolence as to hazard his own safety for the sake of conveying comfort to an unfortunate stranger.

My guards now brought me some food ; but I felt not the least inclination to partake of it, and sent it all away. In this state I remained until evening. I sometimes threw myself on the floor or upon a bench, and occasionally walked about



the apartment, meditating on some means of effecting my escape. With this view, I attentively inspected the construction of my cage. It was six feet in length and breadth, and about eight feet in height. It was divided from the lobby by wooden palisades of a tolerable thickness, and the door was fastened by a lock. There were two windows secured externally by strong wooden gratings, and in the inside furnished with paper screens, which I could open and shut at pleasure. One window faced the wall of a building about two feet distant from that in which I was confined ; and the other looked towards the southern side of the fence which surrounded our prison. From this window I had a view of the neighbouring hills and fields, part of the straits of Sangar and the opposite Japanese coast. In the interior of the chamber stood a wooden bench ; which, however, was so small that I could not stretch myself upon it ; and three or four mats lay in one corner on the floor. The place contained no other furniture.

Having fully considered the situation of my prison, I was convinced that with a common knife I could, in three hours, cut the grating which covered the window, through it get into the yard, and that, favoured by the darkness of night, I might, with the utmost ease, cross the wooden fence and the wall. But how was a knife to be procured, since we were not entrusted even with the possession of a needle ? and though I had succeeded in

recovering my liberty what could I have done alone? My flight might perhaps have induced the Japanese to wreak their vengeance on my unhappy companions! The very thought of what might be their situation so distressed me, that, though I had possessed the means of effecting my escape and a boat had been in readiness on the shore, with an easterly wind to blow me to the Tartar coast, I could not have taken advantage of the opportunity.—Accordingly I abandoned every idea of attempting to escape alone.

At the approach of night the attendants brought me a new wadded cotton quilt and a large wadded night dress, but the latter was so old and dirty that I could not allow myself to put it on, and I threw it into a corner. During the night patrols hourly walked round the wooden hedge making a noise like the sound of rattles\*, and the guards in the interior frequently came into the lobby with lights, apparently for the purpose of watching me.

Early in the morning, when every thing around me was silent, I suddenly heard the sound of voices discoursing in the Russian language. I instantly sprang from the bench on which I was lying and ran to the window which looked towards the wall of the neighbouring building, from whence I distinctly

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\* The Japanese sentinels strike the hours with two pieces of dry wood, which we at first mistook for rattles. The patrol passed close to the place where I slept and announced the hours.

heard Mr. Moor in conversation with Schkajeff. I was transported at this unexpected discovery, and thanked heaven that my companions were not doomed to solitary imprisonment; but at least enjoyed the consolation arising from mutual condolence. I moreover hoped that we might one time or other gain an opportunity of communicating our designs to each other, and of escaping together. I burned with impatience to let them know that I was near them, but I feared lest the sound of my voice might give rise to suspicion. In the meanwhile the soldiers and attendants began to move about the prison, and their noise prevented me from hearing any thing farther. One of my guards now brought me cold and warm water for washing; he suffered the door to stand open whilst he remained with me; but as soon as I had finished washing he went out, and closed it after him. My breakfast was then sent in to me, but I was unable to eat a morsel.

About noon an officer appeared in the lobby, accompanied by a new Kurile interpreter, by a physician,\* a man about fifty years of age, and by Alexei. They discoursed with me through the palisades. The officer asked whether I found myself well;

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\* I afterwards learnt that the name of the interpreter was We-chara Kumaddshero, and that of the physician Togo. I shall therefore call them by their names whenever I have in future occasion to mention them in the course of this Narrative.

and pointing to the physician, said he had been sent by the governor of Matsmai for the express purpose of superintending our health. Whilst the Japanese were discoursing together, I had an opportunity of learning from Alexei that Mr. Chlebnikoff and Simanoff were shut up together, as were also Makaroff and Wassiljeff, but that he, like myself, was imprisoned alone. He added, that their dungeons were without windows and excessively filthy. At twelve o'clock my dinner was brought in, but I refused it. The guard then opened the door, muttered something to himself in ill-humour, and laying down the dinner, went out and closed the door behind him. I was, however, unable to taste food.

In the evening, the same officer returned with the interpreters, Wechara and Alexei, and informed me that the governor of the city, fearing that time might hang heavily upon me, whilst I was alone, wished to know which of the sailors I should like to have along with me? On my replying that I had no preference\*, he observed that I must make choice of one, since such was the wish of the Governor. I then requested that they might be sent to me by turns, and that Makaroff might be permitted to come first. He was instantly conducted to me. I endeavoured to persuade Alexei to re-

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\* I said this because, in our melancholy situation, I did not wish my unhappy companions to believe that I entertained a higher regard for one than for the others.

quest that the Japanese would send him to keep company with Wassiljeff in Makaroff's absence; but this he refused to do; which made me somewhat doubt his good intentions towards us. On this occasion, I learnt that the officer, who had visited me, was a person of the highest rank in the city, next to the governor. I asked him whether the Japanese intended to keep us always separately confined? No, answered he, you will hereafter live altogether, and be sent back to your native country. Shall we soon be confined in one place? I continued. Not very soon, replied he. Men in a situation like ours eagerly catch at every word, and form conclusions from all they hear. Had he answered *soon*, I should have looked upon all he had said as mere groundless consolation, but I now firmly believed every word he had uttered.

When the Japanese officer had departed, I turned towards Makaroff. He was much astonished at the excellence of my apartment, and viewed, with the greatest joy, the objects which were to be seen from the window: my dungeon appeared to him a paradise when compared with those in which Mr. Chlebnikoff, Simanoff, Wassiljeff and Alexei were confined. His description of them filled me with horror. He told me that they were shut up in small cages, built of thick wooden palings, which were placed near each other in the middle of a large room, so that there were passages on every side. Instead of doors, the only entrance

to them was by small apertures, through which the prisoners were obliged to creep. Not a ray of the sun could penetrate these dismal abodes, which were left almost constantly in complete darkness.

What I had heard from the Japanese officer, together with my conversation with Makaroff, in some measure contributed to ease my mind, and in the evening, I eat a little supper, which was the first food I had tasted in Chakodade. Here, however, our meals were much worse than those with which we had been furnished on our journey\*. In the evening our attendants brought us two round cushions, in form resembling our sofa-cushions, covered with cotton cloth and stuffed with hemp-seed.

On the morning of the 10th of August, the interpreter Kumaddschero informed me, that the Governor of the city had signified his wish to see me that day, and that we would all be required to appear before him in the afternoon. At the appoint-

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\* Our food in Chakodade was at first extremely bad. It usually consisted of boiled rice, a kind of soup made of warm water with grated radish; a handful of finely chopped young onions with boiled beans; or instead of the onions and beans, two pickled cucumbers or radishes. Instead of the radish soup, we sometimes had puddings made of bean meal with rancid stock-fish or whale oil. Perhaps twice in the space of fifty days we were supplied with fish, receiving each the half of a kind of plaice (*Pleuronectes*) with soy. A meal was served up to us three times every day: in the morning at eight o'clock, at noon, and at four in the afternoon. Our drink usually consisted of warm water and occasionally bad tea without sugar.

ed hour, we were conducted one after the other into the yard of the prison. Here a rope was bound round each of our waists, the end of which was held by one of the Japanese, our hands however remained free. We were placed beside each other in a row. The officer, who had been sent to conduct us, was occupied for a quarter of an hour in arranging the procession which, at length, started in the following order.—First, two grey haired men in the common Japanese dress, bearing staffs, to the ends of which lance headed axes were affixed: they were followed by three Nambu soldiers with sabres in their girdles. I proceeded next, with an imperial soldier, marching by my side, and a Japanese behind me, who held the rope with which I was bound; Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff, the sailors and Alexei followed in the same order, and the procession was closed by three Nambu soldiers.

We were conducted, at a slow pace, through a long street which extended from one end of the city to the other. The windows of the houses were crowded with spectators. Here we observed, for the first time, that all the houses had shops attached to them, which were well stocked with various kinds of merchandize. From this street we turned to the left and ascended a rising ground, on which a castle was situated, surrounded by palisades and an earthen wall. We entered, by a gate, into a large court-yard, in the centre of which we observed a brass cannon, mounted on a two-wheeled carriage

of very bad construction. A narrow path led us from this yard into another, where a party of imperial soldiers was stationed. They were seated on mats, and were armed with muskets and bows and arrows. We were then conducted into a space, between two buildings, and directed to seat ourselves on a bench which was covered with matting, the sailors and Alexei seated themselves on mats spread out upon the ground ; there we waited for a considerable time. In the meanwhile we were presented with pipes, excellent tobacco, and some fine green tea and brown sugar, with which we were regaled in the name of the Governor of the town. This proved a great luxury to those among us who were fond of smoking, for since our arrival in Chakodade, neither pipes nor tobacco had been sent to us.\*

Here, we had leisure and opportunity to converse with each other. Mr. Chlebnikoff described the place, in which he was confined, in a manner corresponding with the account previously given by Makaroff. Mr. Moor said he had an apartment similar to mine, with two windows, from which he had a view of several objects.

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\* The guards, who were appointed to watch over us in the interior of the prison, and who always stood close to the little cage in which Mr. Moor was confined, suffered that officer to smoke his pipes which they handed to him through the palisades. They did not however venture to grant this privilege to any of the other prisoners.



After waiting more than an hour, I was called into the adjoining building, by my name,—**CAPTAIN Choworin** ! (for so the Japanese pronounced my name.) Two soldiers, one on each side, conducted me through a large gate, which was shut immediately after us, into an extensive hall. Here I was delivered over to other soldiers. This hall resembled a shed, or barn, as one half of it had no ceiling, and instead of being planked, or paved, had a kind of flooring made with small stones strewed on the ground. The other half of the floor rose three feet from the ground, and was covered with curiously worked straw mats. The hall was from eight to ten fathoms long, of an equal breadth, and eighteen feet high. It was divided from the adjoining chambers by moveable skreens, very neatly painted. There were only two or three apertures for windows, which had wooden frames, with paper instead of panes of glass, and which admitted an obscure, gloomy light. On the right side of that part, where the floor was elevated, there hung against the wall, at the height of four feet, several kinds of irons for securing prisoners, ropes, and various instruments of punishment. These were the only ornaments of this hall ; which, at first sight, I conceived to be a place of execution, or torture. The Governor sat on the floor, in the middle of the elevated platform ; behind him were two secretaries, with paper and ink-stands before them.

On the left of the Governor, sat the officer nearest him in authority ; and, on his right, the third in command ; there was, besides, an officer of inferior rank on each side next to these commanders. They all sat at the distance of two paces from each other, with their legs folded under them. They were in the ordinary black dress of the Japanese, with daggers in their girdles ; but each had, also, a large sabre lying on his left side. Two sentinels, without any arms, sat one on each side, on planks, at the corners of the raised flooring. The interpreter, Kumaddscheru, sat on its edge.

The soldiers who received me, when I entered the hall, conducted me to the front of the elevation, or platform, I have described, and were about to make me sit down on the stones ; but the commandant said something to them, and they allowed me to stand. Mr. Moor was next brought in, and placed on my right. Mr. Chlebnikoff followed, and was placed next to Mr. Moor.\* The sailors were then introduced one after the other, and placed in a row behind us. At last came Alexei, who was made to sit down in the same line with us, and near to Mr. Chlebnikoff.

When we were all in the order in which they wished us to be placed ; the Interpreter, by desire

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\* The Japanese reckon the left side superior to the right. We remarked their attention to this, in all cases, and were informed by themselves, that they considered that side the post of distinction : they could assign no reason for the preference.

of the Governor, pointed to him and informed us that he was the chief person in authority in the town. We bowed to him, upon which he nodded with his head and cast down his eyes. After these compliments had passed, he drew from his bosom a paper to which he referred while he examined us. I was first asked my name and family name,\* what was my rank, and to what country I belonged. Both secretaries wrote down my answers. The same questions were put to Messrs. Moor, Chlebnikoff, and all the sailors in succession; other questions followed in the same order: namely, how old we were, whether our fathers and mothers were living, what was the name of the father of each of us, whether we had brothers and what number of them, whether we were married and had children, in what towns we were born, how many days journey the places of our birth were distant from Petersburg, what was the business of each on board of the ship, what we did when on land, and whether the force then entrusted to us was great? All

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\* This question gave us not a little trouble. Alexei who expressed himself very imperfectly in Russian, asked: "What tail has your name?" (In the Kurile language there is only one word for tail and ending) We could not comprehend what he meant, until at last by a happy thought he explained his meaning by an example:—"I am called *Alexei*," said he, "but my name has the tail *Maksimytsch*, what *Ytsch* have you got?" We had great difficulty with other questions, and often, after an hour's explanation with him, we remained just as wise as we were at first.

our answers were written down as before. When we had answered the question respecting our birth-place, the Japanese asked how it happened that we should all serve on board the same ship, though we were from different towns? We replied that we did not serve the towns in which we were born, but the whole country and the Emperor, and that it was a matter of indifference to us whether we were employed on board the same or different ships, provided they were Russian. The Secretaries did not fail to note down this explanation also. The question which, according to Alexei's interpretation, related to the number of men we commanded on land, gave us, in the result, considerable trouble. The Japanese wished to know exactly how many men were under the orders of each of us. When we stated the number was very different at different times and depended on circumstances; they still asked what rule was established with respect to these circumstances. In order to get over the difficulty, we made a comparison between our rank and the rank of the army, telling them that a Major commanded a batallion, a Captain a company. We now believed the affair ended, but I shall have occasion hereafter to notice the vexation which we experienced in consequence of these answers. The next questions related to the names of our ships, their burthen, and the number of cannon they carried. At length the Governor desired to be informed whether some change of

religion had not taken place in Russia, as Laxman wore a long tail and had thick hair which he covered all over with flour, whereas we had our hair cut quite short and did not put any flour on our heads. On our telling them that with us there was no connexion between religion and the form of the hair, they laughed out loud and expressed no little surprise that there should be no express law on this point; they, however, carefully wrote down our answer. Finally, they required that we would relate to them and trace out on the Chart where we had been since our departure from Petersburg. For this purpose they produced a chart which had been drawn after the globe constructed by the Russian Academy, in the time of the Empress Catherine. I shewed them our course and then mentioned the chart which I had destined as a present for the Commandant of Kunaschier, remarking that it was better than the one before me, and had part of our voyage marked upon it. The Japanese replied that they had received no chart from Kunaschier, but that they would shew it to us as soon as they received it; in the mean time the present chart would do for the information they wanted. They not only desired to know every direction in which we had shaped our course, and the period occupied in our navigation, but also the precise time we had spent at each place into which we had put. Our answers and explanations on this, as on all the former topicks, were written down;

the Interpreter being always previously asked whether what we said was correctly translated. As our Interpreter was far from being well versed in the languages which he had to explain, and the Japanese required the greatest precision in the answers to their questions, this examination lasted several hours. At last the Governor dismissed us, informing us that, if it should be necessary, we would be brought there again, but that, in the mean time, we had no occasion to be uneasy; we should be used well.

Twilight had commenced when we left the Castle, from which we were re-conducted in the same order as that in which we had arrived. The number of spectators, however, was much greater on our return, which perhaps was owing to the labours of the day being then finished. On entering our prison we were distributed as before, and to each was given, by order of the Governor, cotton night-gown and some *sagi*. During our absence the Japanese had thrown the passages between Mr. Moor's place of imprisonment and mine into one, and formed a space in the middle for the guard, from which a centinel could see through the railings what either of us might be about. All hope of flight was thus annihilated, but, on the other hand, we obtained the advantage of communicating with each other. I spoke to Mr. Moor, but not in a direct manner, for I turned towards Makaroff and seemed to be addressing him; Mr.

Moor did the same to Schkajeff. This singular mode of conversation lasted only a few days ; for having an opportunity to ask the Deputy - Governor whether we might converse with each other? he answered—" Speak what you please and as openly as you please." After this permission we might have talked freely, but we took care to say nothing injurious of the Japanese, lest some person, who understood Russian, might be within hearing. We were besides afraid to speak much in a language unknown to our guards, as these suspicious people would certainly have reported our doing so to their superiors, and thus have excited new doubts respecting us.

Eighteen days had elapsed since our first audience of the Governor, and he had neither required us to attend again, nor intimated what was to be done with us. When we questioned the Japanese on these points, their usual answer was, that they knew nothing of what was intended.—During this time, however, we were regularly visited every morning and evening by the city officers or magistrates, who happened to be on duty, they brought along with them the physician and the interpreter, and inquired respecting our health, and whether we wanted any thing. Notwithstanding all this attention, the food with which they supplied us was very indifferent. They gave us chiefly a very insipid soup made of radishes. Mr. Moor, was seized with a

complaint in his breast, for which the physician ordered him to drink a decoction from several roots and herbs. With respect to diet, he merely advised him to eat as much as possible of whatever was brought to him.\* Mr. Moor took this opportunity of remonstrating against his bad fare, and alledged that the medicine could not operate to advantage with such food. Upon hearing this the Deputy-Governor, whose name was Otachi-Koeki enquired what the Russians eat when they were sick. Whatever the physician prescribes, replied Moor, which is commonly soup made of fowls, or chickens. Otachi-Koeki then enquired very particularly in what way this soup was prepared by the Russians, observing that the Japanese could cook it also. Mr. Moor described it very minutely, and the Japanese officer wrote down his description. It appeared however, that this was done either from mere curiosity, or for sport, for the chicken soup was never after mentioned, but the old dish was still served up.

This officer was the only Japanese who jested with us. He once promised us beef, butter and milk, as we told him that the Russians were fond of such food, but some days after he excused himself

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\* The Japanese physicians pay very little attention to the regimen of the sick, except to advise them to eat a great deal. The more the patients eat the greater hopes have the physicians; for it is a maxim with them that a good appetite is a certain sign of a speedy recovery.



by saying, with a laugh, that the cows were grazing in the fields. Another time he gave us *sagi*, and expressed a wish that I would order the seamen to sing and dance, for, he said, when Laxman was in Japan, he had seen a Russian dance with which he was extremely pleased. I observed to him that in our situation nothing could induce us to sing and dance, upon which he replied "Right, right, in such a situation the Japanese also would feel but little inclination to sing or dance!"

Besides the orderly officers who visited us, at fixed periods, the interpreter *Kumaddschero*, and the physician *Togo* usually spent about six hours in our company daily.—They placed various objects before us, and asked the Russian names of them, which they wrote down each in a separate vocabulary. When the one was with us, the other was with Mr. *Chlebuikoff*. The physician possessed considerable knowledge in geography: he had a very fine globe, made in imitation of a European one, and several manuscript maps of the Japanese possessions, which he often shewed us: he explained everything respecting which we asked, for information, and added his own personal observations on the places which were known to him: The chief trouble which the Japanese, both officers and soldiers, who did duty as guards, gave us, arose from their requests to write on their fans and pieces of paper: but as they always solicited the

favour with great courtesy, and never failed to return thanks with very humble reverences, we never refused it. Some, however, imposed so far on our complaisance as to bring us ten or twenty fans at a time. These tedious labours fell chiefly on Messrs. Moor and Chlebnikoff, as their hand-writing was very fine. The former wrote more than seventy sheets of paper for one of the soldiers; and from their unceasing applications we at length concluded that they must have sold these manuscripts, as articles worthy of being preserved in cabinets of curiosities.\* This task was the more laborious as the officers were always desired to give a translation of what was written. When we translated any thing for them they carried it to Mr. Chlebnikoff, to compare his translation with ours; and if he wrote any thing, they brought it, for the same reason, to us. In this way Chlebnikoff was once involved in an embarrassment of no slight nature. One of the officers had, for the third time, asked me to write him something in Russian. In the irritation of the moment I wrote the following words: "The Russians who may hereafter come in force to this place are hereby informed that the Japanese, in a treacherous

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\* The Japanese are great lovers of curiosities; and to collect whatever they consider as such, is quite a passion with them. Each of our guards shewed us something which he considered valuable as a rarity. Some of them had, rolled up in several folds of paper, knives, which they had received from Laxman's sailors; others preserved, in the same manner, pieces of our copper money and buttons, or shells, stones, etc.

and cowardly manner, seized seven of their countrymen ; and, without any cause, imprisoned and kept them languishing in dungeons, like the vilest criminals. These unfortunate Russians request that you will take a just vengeance on this faithless people." When the officer asked what this piece of writing meant, I told him it was a Russian song, and desired him to shew it to the next Russians who might come there. He went immediately with it to Mr. Chlebnikoff, who was at first greatly puzzled what to say ; but at last thought of telling him that it was a very old song, which could not be easily translated, and thus got over the difficulty.

On the 25th of August, Otachi-Koeiki, the deputy-commandant, whom we now seldom saw, and that only on extraordinary occasions, came to us, followed by a large train, and caused mats to be spread in the passage before my apartment. I waited with impatience to see what was to follow. At last, four or five men appeared, bearing on their shoulders my chest, which used to stand in the cabin of our vessel ; the portmanteaus of Messrs. Moor and Chlebnikoff, and some bundles. I was thunderstruck at the sight of these things. How could the Japanese have got possession of them ? Had they taken the *Diana*, or had she been wrecked on the coast ? With much effort and in broken accents I answered their questions respecting the ownership of these articles. We, however, soon learned that the *Diana* had sent them on

shore before leaving Kunaschier. That information tranquilized me. Now, thought I, my companions will return to Russia, and our fate will not remain unknown !

After the Japanese had written down what I said respecting these things, they proceeded to question my companions. The articles consisted of some clothes and linen, which my successor in command, Lieutenant Rikord, thought necessary to send on shore, and which ultimately proved of great use to us, though at first the Japanese would not deliver any of them.

This day was doubly memorable to me.—First, on account of the great surprise and alarm which the appearance of our baggage occasioned ; and secondly, because the want of paper and ink or any thing on which I could note down the events in which we were interested, induced me to fall on the following singular method of keeping a journal. When any thing happened which was agreeable to us, I tied a knot on a white thread, which I drew out of the frill of my shirt : when any unpleasant event occurred, I made a memorandum of it by tying a knot on a thread of black silk, taken out of my neck-handkerchief. With regard to other circumstances which, though remarkable, had occasioned us neither joy nor sorrow, I recorded them by knots on a thread of green silk, which I extracted from the lining of my uniform coat. Often

did I count over these knots, and recall to my mind the events they served to denote.

About this time the soldiers told Mr. Moor, as a secret, that we should not remain much longer in Chakodade. This appeared to us very improbable; as, from every thing we had observed, we were persuaded that we were likely to continue a long time in our present quarters. In the first place, the Japanese had given us new wadded night-gowns, which they use for sleeping in instead of coverlets, but which they seldom carry with them on journeys. Secondly, we had learned that, soon after our arrival, they had constructed sentry-boxes at different parts of the fence which surrounded our prison, and had besides made several changes in the internal arrangements of the building.

On the morning of the 28th of August, we were, for the second time, carried before the Governor, in the same order and in the same manner as on the former occasion. We were seated in the same place in the castle, and conducted, as before, into the court hall. The number of the officers was the same, except that the Governor was not seated when we first entered; but, in about ten minutes after, he came forth from behind a screen. After he had taken his place, he drew some sheets of manuscript from his bosom and laid them before him. Having read over our names, he ordered the interpreter to inform us that our former examination had been sent to the Viceroy

or Governor of Matsmai\*, who had given orders for the strictest investigation of our case. It was therefore required that we should circumstantially and truly answer all the questions that might now be put to us, and neither conceal nor misrepresent any thing whatever. We replied that we had no reason to conceal any thing from the Japanese, and would readily give them every information in our power.

The questions were chiefly a repetition of the former, but they were put with so little regard to order or connection, that we could with great difficulty recollect the manner in which they followed each other. There were besides so many new questions, and they were altogether so numerous, that it was impossible to retain them, as we had no ink and paper wherewith to make memorandums. In general these queries related to the conduct of Resanoff, on his return from Japan, and the attacks made by Chwostoff's ships on their villages.

In our answers we gave an account of Resanoff's arrival at Kamtschatka, his subsequent voyage to the American Company's factories and California, his return to Okotzk, and his death at Krasnojarsk, on his way to Petersburg. "I have heard," I observed, "that our Sovereign was very

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\* As this officer commanded the Kurile Islands and Sagaleen, his rank seemed to correspond with that of the governor of a province in Europe. The Japanese, when they spoke with reverence of him, called him *Obunyo*, or more commonly *Bunyo* or *Bunyasso*.

much dissatisfied with the proceedings of Resanoff in Japan ; but that, on the other hand, Resanoff had represented the conduct of the Japanese as having been bad towards him. The vessels which committed the depredations complained of, were merchantmen, and their crews were not in the Emperor's service. The attacks originated with the individuals themselves, whose only object must have been plunder, as they believed that the complaints of the Japanese never could reach our government ; and the Japanese had themselves to blame for the prevalence of that impression, as they had declared to Resanoff that they would have nothing to do with the Russians. The two Japanese who had been carried off were set at liberty on their arrival at Okotzk ; but they fled from that place in a boat, and it was not known what had become of them. Every thing which had been taken from the Japanese was put under sequestration by the Russian Commandant of Okotzk. The ships were embargoed, and the captains imprisoned ; though they afterwards got out of prison : the investigation of their offence still proceeded, but in the meantime they died."

The Japanese desired us to state their names ; and were much surprised when we called them Chwostoff and Davydoff. They immediately asked whether these were the same persons who had been known to them under the names of Nicola-Sandrijetsch (Nicolai Alexandrovitsch) and Govrilo-

Ivanotsch (Gavrilo-Ivanovitsch)? We, on our part, were no less surprised to find that the Japanese knew the christian names of these persons and not their surnames; and at first concluded that they must have learnt them from the two men who fled to the Island of Eetooroop, to avoid the threatened vengeance of Chwostoff. But in that case the Japanese must have known their surnames also. We were perfectly well acquainted with them, though we did not chuse to say so; and merely observed, that we knew them only by the names of Chwostoff and Davydoff. We feared lest the Japanese might have been informed of our custom of using the christian names, in speaking of persons of distinction and intimate friends. Had they suspected that we knew any thing of Chwostoff and Davydoff, there would have been no end to their interrogatories: they would have inquired who were their parents, where they had been born, how old they were, what kind of characters they bore, what professions they followed, and a thousand other things. In order to rid ourselves of so tedious and tormenting an examination, we said that we knew them only by report. Though the Japanese did not absolutely deny our assertion, yet they were far from giving credit to what we said; and seemed still to retain their first notion, that Nicola-Sandrejetsch and Chwostoff were not the same individual.

They eagerly enquired why, after the first



attack had been made upon them, a second had been permitted? We replied, that we knew nothing of this matter, but supposed that this expedition had either been kept a secret from the commandant of Kamtschatka, or that he had been informed that such proceedings had been adopted in consequence of an order from the Government, with which he was unacquainted, and that without making further enquiries he had given credit to this account. But the Japanese were not to be satisfied with this; they suspected that some of our party had been attached to the expedition, or had at least been in Kamtschatka, at the period of its departure. They accordingly questioned us with the utmost minuteness, respecting our voyage; from Cronstadt to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, and compared the time of our arrival there with the period at which their coasts had been plundered. From what fell from them, they seemed likewise to suspect that we had not sailed from Petersburg, until after Resanoff had arrived there, and had informed the Government of the failure of the embassy. They enquired for what reason we had been sent to so distant a place? and asked many questions which appeared to us extremely ludicrous, considering the advanced state of the science of navigation in Europe; such as, how could we possibly remain so long at sea, without getting a fresh supply of provisions and wood and water, from some harbour? How the Russians

could build such large vessels, in which they were enabled to sail about in the open ocean for so long a time ? For what reason had we cannon and arms on board with us ? Why we sailed in the middle of the ocean instead of steering along the coast from Petersburg to Kamtschatka ? The real object of our mission, namely, the survey and description of unknown coasts, as I have before observed, we thought it prudent to conceal, in order to avoid creating suspicion. We said, therefore, that we were proceeding to Kamtschatka with government stores, which were wanted at that place.

Whilst they were thus interrogating us respecting our voyage, they did not fail to enquire, under the semblance of mere curiosity, the distances between Kamtschatka and Okotzk, Okotzk and Irkutsk, and Irkutsk and St. Petersburg ; and what time the post or travellers usually occupied in proceeding from one place to the other, But we plainly perceived that the real object of all their enquiries was to ascertain whether Resanoff had arrived at Petersburg before our departure. For the same motive they questioned us respecting the return of the vessel, in which Resanoff had been sent to them, and whether it was true that it sailed back to Petersburg without him, and that he had remained in Kamtschatka, and gone in another ship to America.

In consequence of the smallness of the terri-

tory of Japan, and its separation from the rest of the world, every communication with foreigners interests the whole country, and is regarded as a great and important event, which ought to be handed down to the latest posterity. The Japanese were, therefore, of opinion, that not only Russia, but all Europe, must be informed of the attack of Chwostoff. For this reason, they did not credit what we told them; and insinuated that we could, if we pleased, give them more minute information concerning the property that had been taken from them, their countrymen who were carried off, &c. Their doubts and extraordinary questions so irritated us, that we sometimes asked them, how they could suppose, that an insignificant spot like Japan, the existence of which was not even known to many of the inhabitants of Europe, could engross the attention of every enlightened nation; or that each minute circumstance attending the plundering of a few of their villages by two obscure merchant vessels, must necessarily be well known? adding, that they ought to be satisfied with our assurance, that the attack was made upon them contrary to the will of the Emperor. At this they usually laughed, instead of feeling in the least offended. They are endowed with a most extraordinary degree of patience. Every question was twice or thrice repeated, and the interpreter was incessantly desired to note every thing down with the utmost exactness: indeed, they were frequently

occupied for more than an hour about a single question. But they never testified the slightest dissatisfaction ; and, as usual, by way of relaxation frequently put questions of an apparently trifling nature ; such, for example as, “ whose office is it, on board the Russian vessels, to foretell the state of the wind and weather ?” When we replied, that this task was not allotted to any particular officer, but that it was part of the duty of the commander of the ship, they were not a little astonished ; for, with them, a boat never puts to sea, without having a *prophet of the weather* on board.

Our examination lasted until evening ; we were, however, permitted to partake of refreshments at two different times. Our repast was brought to us by our attendants, and consisted of boiled rice and herrings, dried in the open air ; and, by way of desert, a tea-cup full of *sagi*, which is the wine of the Japanese. We were likewise regaled with tobacco for smoking, and tea with sugar, which, in Japan, is regarded as a high luxury. In the evening we quitted the castle, and returned to our prison, where we found every thing just as we had left it.

On the following morning, the 29th of August, we were again conducted into the presence of the Governor being escorted and introduced in exactly the same form as before. When we had entered the hall, and the Governor had taken his place, he drew from his bosom several

pieces of paper, which he delivered to Otachi-Koeki; the latter handed them to the officers who were sitting near him, and they gave them to Kumaddscherö, who unfolded one of them, and by order of the commander gave it to us to read. We immediately cast our eyes on the signatures of the officers whom we had left behind us on board the *Diana*. This unexpected sight plunged us into the deepest distress. We reflected on our former situation, and that in which we then were, and concluded that this letter was probably the last farewell of friends with whom we had served so long, and whom we should probably never see again; we were unable to repress our tears. Mr. Moor was most of all affected, he threw himself upon his knees, pressed the letter to his lips, and wept bitterly. The Japanese observed us with great attention, they scarcely ever turned their eyes from us; and all, except Otachi-Koeki, seemed deeply moved. Some even shed tears, which they endeavoured to conceal; but Otachi-Koeki laughed at our emotion. The contents of the letter were as follows :

“ Heaven knows whether these lines will  
“ ever reach you, or whether you are yet in exis-  
“ tence!—At first, all the officers on board re-  
“ solved to adopt pacific measures to obtain your  
“ liberation; but whilst we were deliberating what  
“ course to pursue, a ball past over us, and fell into  
“ the water, at a considerable distance astern of

“ the sloop. I immediately gave orders to return  
 “ the fire of the castle. But what was to be done?  
 “ How were we to act? Our guns were so light  
 “ that they could be of little service to us, the  
 “ shallowness of the water prevented us from  
 “ approaching nearer the land, and the small  
 “ number of our crew precluded all idea of debark-  
 “ ation. We, therefore, wish to inform you that  
 “ we have adopted the last resource. We will sail  
 “ back to Okotzk, and if the number of our crew  
 “ be increased will return, and never quit the  
 “ coasts of Japan until we have obtained your li-  
 “ beration, or sacrifice our lives for our beloved  
 “ captain, and faithful friends! Should the Japa-  
 “ nese permit you to answer this letter, pray write  
 “ to us.—We are bound to obey all the orders  
 “ of our commander. Every man on board the  
 “ sloop is ready to lay down his life for your  
 “ sake !—”

“ Until death,

July 11th, 1811.

“ Yours faithfully,

“ *Peter Rikord.*

“ *Ilja Rudakoff, &c.*’

Having read this letter several times over, the  
 Japanese desired us to translate it. We complied  
 with their order, though we judged it prudent not  
 to give a faithful explanation of many of the pas-  
 sages it contained. According to our translation  
 the firing of the sloop was merely an act of self de-

fence, and not done with a view to injure the Japanese who had fired from their castle: the small calibre of the guns we construed into a deficiency of shot; and we made it appear that the idea of landing proceeded merely from a wish to surround us and prevent the Japanese from carrying us off, but that for this purpose there were too few men on board the sloop. Instead of saying any thing about the obtaining of a reinforcement at Okotzk, we explained that part of the letter by saying, that our friends had returned to request permission to proceed against the Japanese, as they could not attack them without the consent of the Russian Government.

Upwards of an hour elapsed before we could render every thing clear and satisfactory to the Japanese. They then asked me what answer I should send to that letter, provided I were permitted to write? I replied, that I should advise the officers on board the sloop not to proceed to any act of violence, but to return immediately to Russia to inform our Government of the circumstance.

As the letter furnished no ground for further interrogatories, they proceeded to other subjects, many of which had been discussed at large on the preceding day. They examined us as before, without either regularity or connexion, and frequently referred to matters of the most trifling nature. The principal questions which were put to us, had for their object to ascertain whether we were acquainted with what had passed on the embassies of Laxman

and Resanoff. In particular they asked : why we had approached their coasts, since the Japanese had prohibited the Russians to do so, and had informed Resanoff, that their laws required them to burn all foreign vessels, (excepting such as entered the harbour of Naugasaky,) and to place their crews in eternal imprisonment?—

We answered, that all we knew respecting the embassy of Laxman, and the answer given to him as well as those afterwards received by Resanoff, were communicated to us merely by public report. We had indeed heard, that the Japanese would not permit Russian vessels to enter their harbours for the purpose of trading, but that we never imagined this prohibition extended to vessels, the crews of which were suffering from want, as the rudest and most barbarous nations never withheld assistance from suffering navigators, or refused them a place of refuge. Want of provisions, I added, had alone compelled us to land on their shores. That some Japanese officers, whom we accidentally met with, had furnished us with a letter, and had assured us that their countrymen in Oorbeetsch would afford us assistance ; contrary winds had, however, obliged us to put in to Kunaschier, where we had endeavoured, by every possible means, to convince the Japanese of our distressed situation and our peaceable intentions, and that the remainder of our story was known to them.

They, however, expressed a wish that we should



relate to them in succession every circumstance which had occurred to us since our first communication with their countrymen on the island of Etoorooop, up to the moiment when we were made prisoners at Kunaschier. On this occasion we observed the dissimulation of the Japanese : they pretended that all we said was entirely new to them, and affected particular surprise that the Commander of Kunaschier should not immediately have returned the cask and the goods which were sent ashore. They asked whither we were sailing when we experienced a want of provisions, and required us to point out the spot upon the map. We complied with their wish, and explained the object of our voyage in a way corresponding with what we had previously stated.

They asked us several questions totally unconnected with the main object ; for example, concerning the inhabitants of Denmark, England, and other countries which we had visited ? In what parts of Russia ships were built ? What kind of wood was used in constructing them ? and how quickly they could be completed ? &c. Under pretence of mere curiosity they asked us the extent of our land and sea forces. We thought it advisable to give an exaggerated account of both. We increased the number of fortresses and their garrisons in Siberia, and distributed at pleasure numerous fleets in the harbours of the coast of Okotzk, in Kamstchatka, and on the north-western

coast of America. Among other things we accidentally said, that there was a considerable naval force in the harbour of St. Peter and Paul ; and when the Japaness inquired how many ships were there, unfortunately for ourselves, as will hereafter appear, we fixed upon the number *seven*.

The conference lasted until evening. We were frequently taken out of the hall for relaxation or refreshment ; and *sagi*, tobacco and tea were brought into the court-yard to us. In the evening, we were re-conducted to the place of our confinement, with the usual ceremonies.

On the two following days, we underwent no examination ; but, we observed, that the Japanese treated us much more kindly than before. They provided the sailors with warm water, and permitted them to wash their own and our linen in the lobby \* They gave us several articles from the trunks, which had been sent ashore, and at our request, furnished the sailors with a change of linen. A large pail was filled with warm water, in which we were directed to wash both hands and face.† Several

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\* Since the first day of our imprisonment, the Japanese had only once washed our shirts, and that without soap. It may easily be conceived in what state they were, and that to obtain permission to wash them, was no trifling favour.

† The water in the pail, which was extremely large, was heated by means of a copper pipe, communicating with a kind of stove. I washed first, and the rest were obliged to make use of the same water. This was not a little vexatious. We looked upon such treatment as below what was due even to common criminals. We were, however, soon set at ease on this particular ; for, to our great

*of the orderly officers, by whom we were visited at certain hours, regaled us with good tea, sugar, fruit, sagi, &c. One in particular, named Ossa-gava-Rakaemo, was extremely kind, and never quitted us without saying something consolatory, and even giving us a present. We afterwards learnt, that his brother had been lost on board of a vessel some time before. The idea, that he might, probably, be doomed to suffer a fate similar to our's in some distant land, induced him to sympathize with us, and pay particular attention to our wants.*

Notwithstanding all this good fortune, we, however, learnt from the Japanese a piece of news, which again plunged us into despair. On the morning of the 31st of August, during the usual visit of the orderly officers, the physician and interpreter, the latter said something to Mr. Moor, which I did not distinctly understand, and at the same time delivered a paper to him. Mr. Moor glanced over the paper, laughed, and said it was all a fraud; but, immediately turning to me, he exclaimed, in a faltering voice and with great agitation, “Wassily Michailovitsch! hear this,” and read as follows:—

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astonishment, after we had all finished washing, some of the Imperial soldiers, by whom we were guarded, very contentedly followed our example, and washed themselves in the same water. These soldiers, as I have before observed, are held in the utmost respect in Japan. It is, therefore, evident, that the Japanese entertain no disgust or horror of Christians; and do not, like other Asiatics, regard them as unclean.

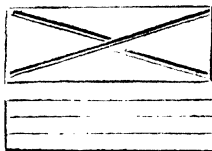
“ In the year 1806, the 12th (24) of October,  
 “ Lieutenant Chwostoff, commander of the fri-  
 “ gate *Juno*, distributed to the chief of the vil-  
 “ lages on the western coast of the Bay of Aniva,  
 “ a silver medal and ribbond of Wladimir, as a  
 “ token of the Russian Emperor, Alexander I.  
 “ having taken possession of the Island of Sagaleen,  
 “ and placed its inhabitants under his gracious  
 “ protection.—I therefore request the commanders  
 “ of all vessels either Russian or foreign, which  
 “ may hereafter visit Japan, to regard the said  
 “ chief as a Russian subject.

Signed :

CHWOSTOFF,

“ Lieutenant of the Russian Fleet.”

“ I here affix as a  
 seal, the arms of my  
 family.”



Our embarrassment may easily be conceived. How could we now hope that the Japanese would give credit to any thing we told them?—We knew that their government was extremely cautious and circumspect with regard to all public proceedings; that the execution of all measures was watched with the utmost care and attention; that every misdemeanor was punished with severity, and even with cruelty, and that they judged of the laws of other countries by those of their own. Could

we expect by mere words to convince such a government that an obscure individual like Chwoſtoff, would, without any authority, have had the audacity to issue a proclamation, declaring that a country under the dominion of a foreign state, was to become a dependency of the crown of Russia ; to distribute among a half-barbarous people medals bearing the likeness of his Sovereign, and to describe a mere merchantman as a Russian frigate. This document had convinced the Japanese that Chwoſtoff, had fulfilled the orders of our Monarch ; they of course could regard us only as spies, who wished to impose on their credulity, by attributing the attack made upon them to the hardihood of so inconsiderable a person as the commander of a private ship, while our real object was to reconnoitre their coasts and garrisons.

Though this unexpected occurrence threw us into the utmost distress, we did not lose courage ; we boldly declared to the Japanese that they might instantly put us to death, if they disbelieved what we stated. We told them that we entertained no fear of death ; that the truth would sooner or later come to light ; that then they would reproach themselves for their distrust, and lament our fate when it would be too late ; and that we only regretted they should entertain such an opinion of our government. We asked them how they could suppose that the Monarch of a great and powerful empire like Russia, should find it necessary to

send a handful of men to burn and pillage villages, for the sake of placing a desert country under his dominion? and by what means? by distributing medals bearing his likeness, and proclamations signed by the captain of a merchant vessel, among people who were unable to form any notion of the meaning of these things. To suppose this would be equally ridiculous, as to lay to the charge of the Emperor of Japan, any similar proceedings, which might be committed by Japanese vessels on our Kurile Islands.

The Japanese listened to our explanation with the utmost attention; and answered *yes* to all our observations; they, however, seemed to smile within themselves, and to place but little reliance on any thing we said. They wished to be informed of the precise meaning of the paper; from whence Chwostoff had brought the medals, and whether he was really the same individual as Nicola-Sandrejetsch? Whilst we translated the proclamation we found it necessary to assure the Japanese, that a Russian frigate signified a merchantman, as well as a ship of war in the Russian navy. For the ribbond of Wladimir, we substituted the words striped ribbond, for we well knew the disposition of our interrogators. Had we called the thing by its right name, we should have been tormented with questions for five or six hours at least. We must have told them who created the order, and for what purpose it had been instituted; who

Wladimir was, at what period he reigned, by what deeds he had distinguished himself, why the order had been named after him ; whether there were any other orders of knighthood in Russia, and what privileges were attached to them ; in a word, we must have related to them the history and the statutes of all our orders. The word *striped*, however, at once removed all these difficulties. With regard to the medals, we told them that in Russia none were permitted to wear medals, except those who received them from the hands of the Emperor ; that silver medals were distributed as rewards to soldiers who had distinguished themselves in battle, and that they were usually sold after the death of the possessor. We knew not whether Chwostoff had purchased these medals, or whether he had procured them from some of his seamen, who might have received them whilst they were in the imperial service. We moreover assured them, that the vessel by which they had been attacked, was commanded by Lieutenant Chwostoff, who was in the service of the American Company, and that he was perhaps the same person who had been known to them by the name of Nicola-Sandrejetsch.

Having given these answers, the Japanese suffered us to depart ; but on the following morning, the 1st of September, we were again carried before the governor with the usual ceremony. It rained, and an attendant walked by

the side of each of us holding umbrellas over our heads.

This was a mark of attention which the Japanese never failed to observe whenever they brought us out in rainy weather. We were again interrogated concerning Chwostoff's proclamation and the medals he had distributed; and our explanation was the same as that which we had given on the preceding day. They inquired what was meant by the drawings of flags, which were made at the bottom of the letter. We replied that one of those drawings represented the flag which was borne by imperial ships of war, and that the other was merely the flag of a merchant vessel; for what reason they had been sketched on the paper in question we knew not; but supposed that Chwostoff wished by this means to mark the difference between a Russian ship of war and a merchantman. The Japanese, however, entertained a very different opinion; they asked us whether both the flags were not borne by imperial vessels, and whether the one was not hoisted to indicate hostile intentions, and the other to shew that a vessel was proceeding for the purpose of trade.\* We assured them that in Europe

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\* The notion entertained by the Japanese that trade was carried on by ships of war, was not at all surprising, for with them all foreign trade with the Dutch, Chinese, Coreans, and the inhabitants of the Likeo Islands is monopolized by the Emperor. He purchases all the goods which arrive at Japan, and sends them in his ships to the different harbours of his territories, and sells the cargoes either in lots, or in the gross, to the local merchant.



ships of war were never in the habit of trading. They then inquired why Chwostoff had hoisted the flag of war when he visited their coasts? We replied that in so remote a part of the world, where his conduct could not be observed, he had presumed to display the standard, which is only unfurled in the presence of our Emperor. On making this unthinking reply, we were tormented with questions for full two hours: they inquired respecting the shape and size of the flag, what were the figures and colours it exhibited, on what occasions it was displayed, whether the Emperor frequently inspected the fleets? &c.

During their inquiries respecting Chwostoff's proclamation, the Japanese frequently asked us questions on other particulars; and seemed greatly alarmed about two small copper-plates which we had left behind us at Ectooroop and Kunashier; on the former island, we gave one of these plates to the Japanese commander himself, and we left the other behind us in a village in Kunashier. On these plates was the following Latin inscription, as also the same in Russian:

*Navis. Imperialis. Russica. Diana.*

*An. Dom. 1811.*

We stated that we left these tablets upon every island that we passed through, even on those which were uninhabited, where we hung them upon the trees; that, in case of shipwreck, it might be known where we had been, and, consequently,

near what place the misfortune had occurred ; but the Japanese were far from being satisfied with this story. In the first place, they wished to know the meaning of the inscription, and required that we should explain every individual word ; they set down each word as we translated it, hoping, by this means, to detect us in some inconsistency. They then observed, that they had heard from the Dutch, in Nangasaky, that Europeans left such tablets on islands which they wished to subject to their dominion, and inquired whether we entertained that intention. We replied, that in such a case, Europeans would use a very different inscription ; but this did not seem to satisfy them : we plainly saw that they did not believe us, and that they even doubted whether we had given them a correct translation of the inscription.

During the whole day, the Japanese were occupied in examining us concerning Chwostoff's proclamation and our tablets ; according to custom, they put many ridiculous questions to us ; such as, how many ships of war and merchantmen are there in Russia, and the whole of Europe ? what number of harbours are there in Russia, and in other countries ? It was late in the evening when we were sent back to the castle.

When we were conducted from the Hall of Justice into the court-yard, for the purpose of partaking of refreshment, we found opportunities of discoursing and communicating our thoughts to

each other. Our situation was, indeed, none of the best, and we looked upon it as next to impossible, to make it appear that Chwostoff's proclamation was a spurious document. The Japanese, of course, could only look upon us as spies ; and, in that case, death, or what was still more dreadful, eternal imprisonment awaited us. Flight was our only resource ; but how was that to be effected. We were confined separately ; and, therefore, could not escape all at once. In despair, we often contemplated the possibility of forcing our way through the guard, which conducted us in the evening from the castle : but, besides our strong escort, we were always surrounded by a multitude of spectators, so immense, that all chance of escape was hopeless. There remained, then, no alternative, but to wait until we should be all confined together, and then to deliberate, in concert, on the means of our deliverance.

The second or third day after, while the civil officer, the physician, and the interpreter, were paying their usual morning visit to Mr. Moor, and making inquiries respecting Russian words, Alexei walked several times through the passage, close to the palisades of my apartment, looked at me, then at the Japanese attendants, and appeared to have some secret to communicate to me. When I spoke to him, he did not answer. At last, seizing a favourable opportunity, he cast some paper, rolled up, through the palisades. I immediately placed

my foot upon it, and remained standing in that position till the Japanese left us. On taking it up, I found wrapt up within, several pieces of paper, an iron nail, and a card, on which some words were scratched with the nail. The writing was by Mr. Chlebnikoff; but, though it consisted of several lines, I could only make out the following words:—

“God—Hope—the Kamtschatdale Isprawnik. Lamakin—Alexei, the Kurile—be cautious”—and a few others. I could not comprehend what this card meant. If Chlebnikoff had written any thing respecting our present situation, what connexion could this Lamakin, of whom I knew nothing, have with it! I was afraid that confinement had bereaved him of his understanding, and the idea gave me great pain.

In the evening, when Alexei again came to us, I asked him whether Mr. Chlebnikoff had not lost his senses, and what was meant by the words on the card, which I could not decipher? You will soon know all, replied he, and immediately departed, leaving us in a state of painful uncertainty. I communicated every thing to Mr. Moor, but could not gain an opportunity of sending the card to him: he was equally unable to comprehend what part this Lamakin was playing between the Japanese and us.

On the 4th of September, we were again conducted to the castle; we had to wait in the

court-yard until the governor gave orders for our entrance ; and, in the meanwhile, we were indulged with the permission of smoking tobacco. Here we had an opportunity of conversing together ; and Mr. Chlebnikoff communicated to us a secret, with which Alexei had acquainted him. He told us, that Alexei, and some of his countrymen, had, about a year before, been seized by the Japanese ; and, on being asked for what reason they had visited Japan, instead of the romantic story which they had related to us on board the *Diana*, the Kuriles replied, that they had been sent by the Kamtschatdale Isprawnik, to inspect the Japanese villages and garrisons. On being asked what was the object of their examination ? they answered, that in the following year\*, seven vessels† from the harbour of Petropaulowskoi, would visit the Japanese Islands, four proceeding to Matsmai, and three to Eetooroop, with the same design with which Chwostoff had approached them. The Kuriles said this, with the view of averting danger from themselves, by making the Japanese believe that they had been forced to come among them by the Russians ; and Alexei had entreated Mr. Chlebnikoff to persuade us to declare, that they had really been dispatched by Lamakin.

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\* The very period at which we approached the coasts of Japan, as it were in confirmation of the prediction of the Kuriles.

† The Reader will recollect, that chance led us to fix upon the number seven, when we were questioned concerning the number of vessels in the harbour of Petropaulowskoi.

Our situation may be easily imagined. The arrival of the Kuriles for the purpose of converting Japanese subjects to the Christian Faith, Chwostoff's attack, the medals and proclamations, and, finally, the declaration of the Kuriles, all tended to convince the Japanese, that we sought to deceive them. Our only means of exculpation was, to assure them, that if the Emperor of Russia had wished to declare war against the Japanese, he would have sent more than two ships for that purpose. It was to be feared, however, that the Japanese might attribute the trifling character of the enterprise, to ill-digested plans on the part of our Government, or to deficiency of means in the Russian provinces opposite their coasts; descriptions of the state of which must have been given to them by their countrymen, who had travelled through Siberia to Petersburg. But Alexei was the most formidable proof against us. I have already observed, that he wished us to confirm the tale which he and his countrymen had invented; that is to say, to criminate ourselves, and to do all we could to justify him, who was alone guilty. We were persuaded, that he would insist on the truth of his assertion, and endeavour, by all the means in his power, to fix the offence on us. But to have apparently assented to his request, would have emboldened him, and knowing that a severe punishment awaited him on his return to Russia,

he would, of course, place every obstacle in the way of our liberation. Besides, we could not, for evident reasons, consent to bear testimony to the truth of his false declaration. We, therefore, told him, in as friendly a manner as possible, that we could in no way comply with his wish; and, that all solicitation for that purpose would be fruitless. To this Alexei made no reply, and we now began to regard him as a dangerous and irreconcilable enemy.

When we were again conducted into the presence of the governor, he asked whether it was true that the Kamtschatdale Isprawnik had sent Kuriles to inspect the Japanese villages and fortifications? We replied that we had never heard of such a proceeding, and that we looked upon it as impossible; upon which they addressed themselves to Alexei; but we could neither understand their questions nor his answers. After having asked us many trifling questions they conducted us back to our prison. Alexei however was detained, and remained a long time behind us. When he at length joined us in the prison we asked him about what the Japanese had been discoursing with him? he answered drily, "about my old affair." After this he was twice carried alone before the governor, but he always refused to tell us what had passed between the Japanese and him.

Among a number of silly questions which were put to us in our last examination, I shall mention

one, as it led to an explanation which shews the severe character of the Japanese morality and the strictness of their laws. They asked us why we had carried off wood and rice from the coast without the consent of the owners of those articles. We replied that they had doubtless been informed, by the report of the Commandant of Kunashier, that we had employed every means of making ourselves understood ; he, however, had ordered all the troops to retire into the garrison ; the villages on the coast were deserted, and whenever we attempted to approach the castle, cannon were fired upon us. The hope which the letter of the Japanese officer at Eetooroop afforded of obtaining through it a supply of every article we stood in need of, induced us to neglect sailing back to the Russian coast, which we should have immediately done had we not received that letter. During the long period our vessel had remained at sea, our stock of provisions had become exhausted ; and for this reason, having no other object in holding intercourse with the Japanese, we carried off a small quantity of rice and wood, in payment for which we left various European articles behind us. That we had moreover deposited silver coins in the cask, and that when a correspondence was opened on the part of the Japanese, we ourselves proceeded to the castle to pay such price as they might fix upon the articles we had carried away. We were now asked whether any law existed in Europe, which, under such cir-



cumstances would authorize us to seize the property of strangers? I replied that there was indeed no particular law to that effect; but that if a man in a state of starvation chanced to meet with deserted habitations, and took from thence what was necessary to support his existence, he would not be declared guilty under any European law; particularly if he left behind him articles equal in value to those which he took away. With us, replied the Japanese, it is very different: our laws ordain that a man must sooner die of hunger, than touch, without the consent of the owner, a single grain of rice which does not belong to him.

To the honour of the Japanese, I must observe that they always questioned us with the utmost civility and politeness: they frequently laughed with an air of good humour, and endeavoured to render our examinations more like discourse between intimate friends, than formal and official investigations.

On the 5th of September we were conducted to the governor of Chakodade, for the last time. The whole of the forenoon was occupied in asking us questions which we had previously answered, and very minute inquiries were made respecting the seven Japanese who had been saved on the coast of Kamtschatka. We described to them the spot on which the vessel had been wrecked; mentioned the time at which the event had taken place; how many individuals had been saved, and that they were at Nischny-Kamtschatsk

at the period of our departure. Mr. Moor had <sup>seen</sup> them there, though the dread of being tormented by a thousand questions deterred him from saying so.

In the afternoon we sat a long time in the court-yard, drinking tea and smoking tobacco. The interpreter Kumaddscherō went continually backwards and forwards, asking us Russian words, which he wrote down. We were at length conducted into the hall. Here, one of the officers, a grey-haired man, apparently about seventy years of age, who, in Laxman's time, had been employed in compiling a Russian dictionary, unrolled a large sheet of paper, filled with Japanese characters, which he began to read in a style which very much resembled singing. We were totally unable to comprehend the first ten or twenty words ; but we at length discovered that he fancied he was reading Russian, and from some of the words conjectured that the paper contained an account of our affair translated into Russian. We could not refrain from laughing, and told the Japanese that we understood only a few words here and there ; upon which they all laughed heartily, not excepting the translator, who laid the paper aside. The governor now took leave of us, and we left the castle.

The Japanese, particularly those who were appointed our guards, continued to treat us with increasing kindness. They even several times permitted Mr. Moor to go out of his chamber for the purpose of warming himself at the fire in the

lobby.\* On these occasions he sometimes stepped up to my palisades, when we found an opportunity of making communications to each other which we could not speak aloud, as several of our guards, who had been in Russia, understood something of our language. With respect to our food, however, it was no better than before, though we many times sent it away without tasting it. One day Mr. Moor made an effort to speak Japanese to Kumaddschero, and told him that we had been treated like dogs; he contrived to make himself intelligible, and Kumaddschero told him, he ought not to vex himself on that head; and at the same time advised him to speak with more caution in future: observing, that if his complaint had been heard by any except himself, it might have been attended with serious consequences.

In the meanwhile we continued in the utmost uncertainty, with respect to the way in which the Japanese Government might regard our answers and declarations, and how it was intended to dispose of us. A severe destiny seemed indeed to await us; for celestial phenomena conspired with an unfortunate concurrence of earthly events to produce unfavourable impressions against us.—About this time a comet made its appearance. We wished to know whether the Japanese had any no-

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\* At the latter end of August the mornings and evenings were extremely cold. Mr. Moor, who was unwell, complained of ~~a~~ cold, and the Japanese, every morning and evening, kindled ~~a~~ fire in a moveable grate, which stood in the lobby opposite to his cage.

tion of the nature of that heavenly body, and put some questions to them on the subject. From the answers of those with whom we conversed, it was evident that they knew nothing about comets except that they were seldom visible. We then wished to ascertain whether the Japanese, like other Asiatic nations, regarded comets as the usual forerunners of unfortunate events: for, had this been the case, it was possible that their superstition might have had favourable consequences for us: they might, perhaps, have regarded the comet as the harbinger of Heaven's vengeance for their unjust and cruel conduct towards us: but, when we inquired whether they did not regard these planets as prognosticating certain events, they replied, to our no small mortification, that the same year (1807) in which Chwostoff had visited them, a comet, similar to that which appeared on our arrival, was visible in the heavens.

On the 13th of September, the officer next in rank to the Governor, told us that he had received orders, on the approach of the cold weather, to provide us with some warm clothing, from the trunks which had been sent on shore from the sloop, at Kunaschier; and asked us what we were accustomed to wear? At my request I was immediately furnished with my mantle, a warm waistcoat, a shirt, a cap, some stockings and pocket-handkerchiefs; and my companions received whatever articles they required.

I have already observed that the Japanese agreed to let the sailors be with us by turns. On the 31st of August, Wassiljeff was sent to Mr. Moor, and Schkajeff was shut up alone : but on the 23d of September, Makaroff, who had before been with me, was relieved by Schkajeff. The latter communicated to me two unexpected pieces of information.---First, that Simanoff, through some oversight of the Japanese, had gained possession of a large knife. It appeared that he had fastened this knife, by a leather strap, to one of the button-holes of his jacket, which is a custom among our sailors, lest they should lose their knives when using them on the masts or yards. This jacket had been sent from the sloop ; and was given to him, although the strap could scarcely fail to be noticed. We were much astonished that this strap should have escaped the rigid and circumspect vigilance of the Japanese ; particularly when they carried their caution so far as not to suffer us to have a pair of scissars to cut our nails with ; and we were obliged to thrust our hands through the palisades, to get the soldiers to perform that office for us. We were never once suffered to have needles in our possession ; and our clothes were always mended by the guards who attended us. I was overjoyed at this accident, as I hoped that, in course of time, the knife might be made useful to us ; and I took the first opportunity of desiring Simanoff to preserve it like a treasure. Secondly, Schkajeff in-

formed me that the soldiers had been hinting something about our departure for Matsmai, and that the old litters were already brought into the court-yard. On the following morning, this story was confirmed by the Japanese officers themselves, who formally acquainted us, that we must hold ourselves in readiness for a journey.

In the evening, we were each furnished with a cloak, made of varnished cotton-cloth, a straw hat, with a round brim, a pair of Japanese stockings, and straw shoes, which the Japanese wear for travelling.

On the evening of the 26th of September, we were informed that, on the following morning, if the weather proved fair, we should set out on our journey. At break of day, on the 27th, preparations were accordingly commenced, and several of the officers came to bid us a formal adieu. They entered our little apartments, and, with the assistance of the interpreter, said that they had come to bid us farewell, to wish us good health, a safe journey, and a speedy termination of the difficulties in which we were involved. In the meanwhile we had each a rope bound round the waist. We were then led into the court-yard, and placed side by side; a soldier was stationed beside each as a guard, and a superintendent or conductor held the rope. These travelling regulations in no way corresponded with the politeness which the Japanese had, a short while before, manifested in taking

leave of us. We were almost tempted to believe that their conduct was all mockery; but it was highly improbable that all the officers of the city, the commander-in-chief included, should have combined together to pass a joke upon us. By degrees, however, we became accustomed to the singular habits of this people.

About mid-day, we set out on our journey. We were conducted in the same order as in our former march, *only* that in addition to the litters, horses were introduced into the procession, bearing our quilts, and night-dresses instead of saddles. In the road through which we passed, at the distance of about a hundred fathoms from the prison, we met with a detachment of infantry under arms. It was a clear and warm day, and a vast number of spectators had accordingly assembled, many of whom accompanied us to the distance of three versts. Our escort consisted of one officer, from twelve to sixteen soldiers, two superintendants and a considerable number of individuals whose business was to carry the litters, lead the horses, &c. and, who were relieved at the different stations which we passed by. We were besides accompanied by the interpreter Kumaddschero, and the physician Togo.

As we had been confined for the space of fifty days, we were glad to enjoy the recreation of walking, and we only mounted the horses when we felt ourselves fatigued. On these occasions

the Japanese rolled up the ropes, with which we were bound, fastened them, and suffered us to ride at liberty. This, however, they only did when our road happened to lie through open fields, whenever we had to pass through villages, they never failed to hold the ends of the ropes.

Our road from Chakodade, lay along the bay close to the shore. Having arrived opposite to the tongue of land on which the city is built, we ascended a hill, on the summit of which a battery was erected. The apparent object of this battery was to prevent vessels from entering the bay : it was however very ill calculated for that purpose, owing to the extreme height of the hill, and the breadth of the channel which formed the entrance. The Japanese conducted us through this battery,\* and thereby, occasioned no small degree of uneasiness. They sought to conceal nothing from us, even in their military works, and thence we inferred that they doubtless intended to detain us prisoners for life, as in that case we could not turn to their disadvantage any knowledge we might collect respecting their system of fortification. We re-considered

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\* This battery consisted of an earthen breast-work, not very high, behind which were planted three or four small pieces of brass cannon on two-wheeled carriages, which were however very different from our carriages. On cross-beams at the foot of the breast work, stood an eighteen or twenty-four pounder which seemed to have been cast in Europe. It is probable that the Japanese had placed it in this situation, because so heavy a gun would have shaken to pieces, on the first fire, such carriages as they make.



all the circumstances which had occurred in Chakodade from which it appeared that flight was our only means of deliverance. But we were soon convinced of the impracticability of escaping at this time, ~~for~~ though during the night the ropes with which we were bound were laid aside, yet the greater part of our attendants never closed their eyes, and some never quitted the apartments in which we were lodged. Our only chance was to break from them by force ~~during~~ the day, and considering the numbers by which we were surrounded, and that our only weapon was a knife, this seemed next to impossible.

Our food was the same as ~~that~~ with which we had been supplied during our journey to Chakodade, and we received a meal three times every day. In this part of the island, the villages are extremely numerous and populous. The inhabitants maintain themselves by fishing ~~and~~ collecting sea-weed; besides this, they have in general large kitchen-gardens in which they plant an extraordinary number of radishes.\* We not unfrequently saw entire fields thickly planted with these roots.

We spent the night of the 29th of September

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\* The Japanese, rich as well as poor, boil radishes in their soup. This root is in as common use with them as cabbage is among the Russians. They likewise salt or pickle them, and eat them to their food instead of seasoning. They bite off little bits when eating fish, and dishes which require salt.

in a little village about half a days journey from Matsmai. This place was rendered memorable to us by the following circumstances. The interpreter Kumaddscherro advised us, when we should be examined in Matsmai, to be careful, that our answers corresponded with our previous declarations. He assured us that, if we in the slightest degree departed from our former statements, we should be declared guilty by the Japanese laws. He besides supplied each of us with some excellent tobacco and several pieces of paper,\* and said that he gave us these things in order that the officers in Matsmai might not attribute our want of them to the negligence of our conductors. He desired us not to believe the physician when he told us that a fine house was preparing for us in Matsmai, where we should all live together. This we thought was much the same as telling us that a prison was to be our doom; what this extraordinary attention respecting the paper and tobacco denoted, we were however unable to divine.

On the afternoon of the 30th of September, we halted in a village about three wersts distant from Matsmai, where we were met by a party of soldiers and a vast crowd of people. We remained here

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\* The Japanese, instead of pocket-handkerchiefs, make use of pieces of paper. The richer class of people make use of a very fine kind of paper, the poor, on the contrary, use very coarse. On this occasion, we had a much finer kind of paper given to us than that with which we had been supplied in Chakodade.

about half an hour, during which time our conductors put on their best clothes, and we then entered the city with the same formalities as had been observed at Chakodade ; the number of spectators was however considerably greater, owing to the vast population of the city. Having proceeded through the town, to the distance of about four or five wersts along the shore, we entered a large open space, crowded with men who stood behind ropes, which had been extended there for the accommodation of the procession. Thence we ascended a tolerably high hill, passed along the rampart which encompassed the castle, and entered a court-yard, which was surrounded by a high wooden fence, entirely new. Here we met a detachment of soldiers in their military uniforms. From this court-yard, a little door led through another fence, which was higher than the preceding one. We now entered a dark edifice like a barn, and we three officers were shut up together in a cage, which bore some distant resemblance to a room ; the sailors and Alexei were confined in another.

## CHAPTER IV.

ON the first view of our prison, we thought we should never again enjoy the light of the sun ; for though the weather was fine and the sky bright when we entered, we found darkness had already commenced in this dismal abode, to which no friendly ray seemed to penetrate. The place of our confinement, the fence which surrounded the yard, and the sentry boxes, were all so recently finished, that the workmen had not had time to remove their chips. The prison\* was large, built of fine wood and

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\* It was a quadrangular wooden building, twenty-five paces long, fifteen broad, and twelve feet high. Three sides were complete wall, without any aperture whatever ; but the south side was formed of strong spars, four inches square, and placed at the distance of four inches, also, from each other. On the side which consisted of these spars, there was a gate, and a little door, both of which were, however, kept fast locked. In the middle were two cages, formed of spars, similar to those on the south side of the prison. They were so placed, as to leave a passage between each, and also passages between them and the walls of the prison. One cage was six paces square, and ten feet high ; the other was of an equal breadth and height, but was eight paces long. We three officers were put into the former ; the sailors and Alexei, were confined in the latter. The entrance to the cage was so low, that we were obliged to creep into it. The door was formed of massy spars, and was fastened by a strong iron bolt. Above the door was a small hole, through which our food was handed to us. A small water closet was constructed in the further end of each cage. The sides of the cage next each other were bounded in such a manner, that

must have occasioned the Japanese Government no inconsiderable expence. We could not suppose that the Japanese would have thrown away time, labour, and expence, if they intended to set us soon at liberty. They might easily have found a suit-

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we could see the sailors, but they could not perceive us; a skreen was also placed between the closets, for the purpose of obstructing the view from the one to the other. A guard-room was placed against the spars, which formed the entrance side of the prison, and which was occupied by two soldiers in the service of the Imperial Government, who were constantly on guard; they could see us all, and seldom turned their eyes away from us. The whole building was surrounded, at the distance of from six to eight paces, by a high wall or fence, with sharp pointed wooden stakes, and in which there was a door exactly opposite that of the prison. Around the first wall was a second but less high fence, including a considerable space, within which were, on one side of the gate of the great wall, the cooking-room and an apartment for the workmen, and, on the other side, a guard-house. The outer guard consisted of soldiers belonging to the Prince of Tzyngar. They were not allowed to come near us, nor even to pass within the first fence, but patrolled the rounds every half hour. During the night they had fire and struck the hours with two boards: the imperial soldiers on the contrary visited us every half hour, walked round our cages and looked through the spars. The whole structure was situated between an abrupt and deep hollow, through which a stream flowed and the rampart of the castle, from which it was separated by a road of no great breadth. At night this prison was most horribly dismal; we had no fire; a night lamp supplied with fish oil, and placed in a paper lantern, was kept burning in the guard-room, but the feeble glimmering light which it shed between the spars, was scarcely capable of rendering any object visible to us. The clanking noise made every half hour by the moving of the locks and bolts when the soldiers inspected us, rendered this gloomy place still more disagreeable, and did not allow us to enjoy a moments repose.

able house for confining us two or three years: but the strength and the plan of this prison appeared to denote that it was intended to be our dwelling place during the remainder of our existence. This idea distressed us not a little. We sat long in profound silence, looked at each other and regarded ourselves as finally lost. A servant at length brought in our supper, which consisted of boiled rice, a piece of fish and a handful of beans with syrup. He reached it through the spars, and, not observing me as I lay in a corner, asked in broken Russian, where the third was. Mr. Moor immediately asked him where he had learned Russian, to which he replied "in Kamtschatka." Mr. Moor told him that he had also been in Kamtschatka; the Japanese however understood him to say that he had seen him there. He was overjoyed to hear this and repeated what he supposed Mr. Moor had said to the Interpreter. We had frequently told him that we knew of no Japanese having been at Kamtschatka, except the seven who had been saved from shipwreck, and who were in Nischny-Kamtschatsk, but whom we had not seen. On our endeavouring to make the interpreter comprehend the mistake of the servant, he exclaimed: "How artful! how artful!" and went away. This circumstance gave us much uneasiness, as it was calculated to make the Japanese suspect that there was something in the affair which we wished to conceal from them.

On the 1st of October it was notified to us that, on the following day, we should be carried before the Bunyo, or Viceroy, which was accordingly done in the morning. We were conducted in the same manner as in Chakodade except that, on this occasion, the ends of the ropes were held by imperial soldiers. The road to the southern gate of the Castle, or fortress, to which we were conducted, lay between the rampart and the hollow, and extended to the distance of about a quarter of a werst from our prison. As the road was dirty the Japanese had laid down planks for us to walk on, and held umbrellas over us to protect us from the rain.

On entering the castle, we soon found ourselves in a sort of court or yard of considerable size, strewed with small stones or gravel, and were put into a low long shaped building and placed all in a row upon one bench. We waited here about an hour ; at last a door was opened and we were conveyed into a second court. Proceeding forward, we came to the door of a third court, on approaching which, the soldiers who escorted us, pulled off their shoes\* and laid them down, with their swords and daggers, at the door ; in like manner we were obliged to deposit our boots. This door being opened, we walked on very fine straw mats towards a large wooden building. Here we were placed in

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\* Or more properly, straw sandals ; for the Japanese wear neither boots nor shoes, but make with plaited straw or grass, a kind of sandals.

the front of a spacious saloon, in which the skreens, of which the walls, according to the Japanese mode of building, were formed, were thrown open on the side next the court. Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff and myself were placed on an elevated spot; our sailors were behind us, but somewhat lower, and Alexei sat on their left. Our servant, who understood some Russian words,\* took his station on our right (this was the place of the Interpreter) and Kumaddscheron on our left. This servant had told us that he was to be our Interpreter in our conference with the Bunyosso, but we did not believe that he would venture to undertake a task he was so incapable of executing.

The saloon was very extensive: the skreens which formed its sides, some of which were of paper, others of wood, were all gilded and adorned with Japanese paintings of landscapes, quadrupeds and birds. The curious carved work, and the various kinds of fine wood of which the doors and frames were formed, added greatly to the splendour of this extraordinary edifice. The floor was covered with finely worked tapestry. On each side of the saloon were five officers with daggers in their girdles, sitting cross-legged, according to the Japanese custom,; and three of whom had large sabres, lying beside them on the left hand; they were in their usual dress.

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\* There were two of our attendants who, as the Japanese supposed, understood Russian. The name of this man was Heinste; the other was called Fok-Masse.



After we had waited about a quarter of an hour, during which the Japanese laughed and amused themselves in conversation with each other, we suddenly heard a rustling behind a skreen. One of the officers called out—*Schee!* and a deep silence immediately followed. A Japanese, in the ordinary dress, came forward, kneeled on his entrance, placed the palms of his hands on the floor, and bowed his head. The Bunyo now appeared: he was in a common black dress, on the sleeves of which, as is the custom with all the Japanese, his armorial bearings were embroidered: he had a dagger at his girdle, and his sabre was carried by one of his suite, who were five in number, he who had previously entered included. The sabre-bearer held that weapon near the extremity, with the handle upward; but a cloth was wrapped round the part which he grasped, to preserve his naked hand from coming in contact with it. The Bunyo took his place without delay; he faced us, and looked like a president sitting at the head of his council. His suite sat down behind him, at the distance of three paces; he who carried the sabre, laid it down on the left of the Bunyo. This was no sooner done, than the Japanese all testified their respect, by laying the palms of their hands on the floor, and bending their bodies so low, that their foreheads almost touched the ground. In this position they remained for some seconds. The Bunyo returned the compliment with a pretty

deep bow, in doing which he laid the palms of his hands upon his knees. We saluted him after the European manner, on which he nodded his head, repeatedly smiled, and seemed desirous of shewing that he was favourably disposed towards us. He drew from his bosom a paper, into which he looked, and called each of us by our names; we answered with a bow, and he bowed in return. He then addressed himself to Heinste, who listened with his forehead touching the ground, and when the Bunyo ceased to speak, stood up, in order to interpret what had been said. This he, however, did so imperfectly, that we could not comprehend him. The following was the purport of his version:—"Thou art a man—I am a man—such another is a man—say what sort of a man?" We advised him not to deceive his superiors; but, to confess frankly, that he was incapable of performing the task he had undertaken, lest harm should befall him in consequence of his persisting. He listened with the greatest attention to what we said, and proceeded to interpret it, in doing which he resumed his former position. The Japanese wrote down what he said\*, and then a second question was put. The shameful assurance of this man roused our indignation so far, that we declared we would answer no more questions, in order that this

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\* There was here no particular secretary, as at Chakodade; but our answers were noted down by two officers, one of whom sat on the right, the other on the left.

impostor might not injure us by his erroneous interpretations. Heinste, however, who was not in the least ruffled by this declaration, as, in fact, he did not well understand what we said, made some reply to the Japanese, who took a note of his supposed interpretation, after which a new question was asked. We turned to Alexei and Kumaddschero, and requested that they would explain the matter to the Bunyo; but they did not dare to speak. Meanwhile the Bunyo conversed with Heinste, and we heard him pronounce the Japanese word for father, which we knew. It is probable that he asked the names of our fathers: Heinste pulled a paper, with Russian words, out of his breast, and after stammering for a considerable time, at last acknowledged that he did not know the word, and could not find it in his list. When the Bunyo and his officers found that he was ignorant of so common a word, they laughed, dismissed him, and again appointed Kumaddschero and Alexei our interpreters.

The questions commenced in the same manner as at Chakodade, with inquiries respecting our names, rank, families and relations. In these particulars the interrogatories were even more minute than any we had answered before; and they were all put by the Bunyo himself. After examining us on the subject of Resanoff's return from Japan, and the cause of our arrival among them, he asked some questions which had no relation to these sub-

jects, and appeared to arise from mere curiosity. Of these I recollect the following:—He wished to know how the Russians buried their dead; what sort of monuments they erected over their graves, and whether, in that respect, any difference was made between the rich and the poor? When, in the course of our answers, we mentioned that the funerals of the rich were attended by a number of priests, the Bunyo remarked that the same practice prevailed among the Japanese. At last he asked whether there was any request that we wished to address to him. We answered that we did not rightly know what was intended by that question; as we supposed the Bunyo himself must be aware of the only request we had to make—seeing that we had been treacherously seized, and even still unjustly detained in prison. He then observed that we might address a petition to him with regard to the place in which we wished to reside; namely, whether in Matsmai, in Yeddo, the capital, or in any other part of Japan, or finally stating, whether we would rather return to Russia. We replied that we had only two things to ask;—the first was, to be permitted to return to our country; the second, in case the first was not possible, to die—these were the only favours we had to request of the Japanese. The Bunyo now, with evident emotion, made a long speech, which all present listened to with the utmost attention, and an expression of commiseration was visible in the countenances of all.

Alexei then turned to explain to us what had been said, (but he probably committed some blunders in his interpretation), and observed that he had heard so many consolatory assurances, that he despaired of being able to repeat them all; he would, however, endeavour to convey to us the substance of the speech, at which we should doubtless find some cause to rejoice. "The General\*," continued Alexei, "says that the Japanese are men, and have hearts as well as other people, and that we have therefore no reason either to fear or despair. They will investigate our affair, and if they find that we are not deceiving them, and that we are not implicated in the proceedings of Chwostoff, they will send us back to Russia, and will supply us with rice, sagi and other provisions, and presents. In the meanwhile they advised us to console ourselves, as they would look after our health, and see that we wanted for nothing. If we stood in need of clothes, or any particular kind of food, they desired that we would not hesitate to make our request known." We thanked the Bunyo for this consolatory speech, and for his promise that we should have justice done us; upon which he withdrew;\* having directed our attendants to conduct us back to prison.

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\* So Alexei styled the Bunyo, because the Governor of Kamtschatka was called General at that time. From 1799 to 1812 that office was filled by major-generals in the army.

† Before he retired he bowed to the officers and they to him, as

Notwithstanding the singularly unfortunate combination of circumstances which was calculated to fill the minds of the Japanese with distrust and hatred towards us, the assurance of the Governor tended greatly to ease our minds. We thought that no men, who were not possessed by evil spirits, could have so well assumed the mask of dissimulation, and put on such an appearance of sympathy if they really did not feel for us. On the other hand, bitter experience had confirmed all that we had before heard or read concerning the oriental nations, and in particular the Japanese, namely: that the meanest beggars with them excel our most crafty European courtiers in the practice of falsehood and deceit. We were frequently distressed by the reflection that this subtle and cunning people were doubtless aware of the use to which they might turn us, when we should become reconciled to our fate of remaining for ever in Japan; and that they, perhaps, consoled us only with empty hopes, lest we should pine our lives away in despair, and thus rob them of the advantages they might otherwise derive from our experience and knowledge of the arts of Europe.

On the following day, the 3d of October, we were again conducted to the castle, and placed in the presence of the Bunyo with all the formalities

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on his entrance. When he rose his sword-bearer immediately took his sabre up with the cloth, holding the hilt upwards, and followed him.

which had been observed on the former occasion. He devoted but little attention to the main subject of investigation; but questioned us for a long time concerning the various customs and manners of the Europeans. Among other things, he inquired whether we ever witnessed such a storm in Russia as had taken place on the preceding night in Japan? In some places, he added, the weather was much more stormy than in Matsmai. "This," said he, "was not one of our very severe storms; at Niphon they are both more violent and frequent than here." He endeavoured to give to this examination the appearance of a friendly conversation, and in about two hours time dismissed us, in order that we might partake of some refreshment.

We entered a spacious court-yard, and took our seats in a summer-house, where the Japanese, by order of the Governor, served us with tea and sugar. It was not allowable to smoke tobacco in the court-yard of the Bunyo's castle; our guards therefore went by turns into the kitchen and guard-room to smoke their pipes. In the meantime the interpreter, Kumaddschero, came to us, accompanied by a civil officer and a tailor, who, he said, had been ordered by the Governor to make some clothes for us, either after the Japanese or the Russian form, as we ourselves might think fit; but that, if we wished to have them after the Russian fashion, we must furnish the tailor with a pattern. We observed that we had clothes enough, and felt no

wish to have more; upon which the Japanese replied that that was of no importance; that the Governor wished to make us a present, and that we must not reject it. All contradiction was therefore useless: we told him that we wished to have some warm clothes made after the pattern of a coat which had been sent from the sloop to Mr. Chlebnikoff.

The tailor was then conducted to the storehouse, where our things were kept; the coat was shewn to him, and he proceeded to take our measures:—he made use of a measure which was divided into ten parts, and noted every thing down in writing. When he had measured us all,\* we were again summoned to appear before the Bunyo, who examined us for several hours, and at length dismissed us with an exhortation not to abandon ourselves to despair, but to offer up prayers to God, and wait with patience for the issue of the investigation. “Be assured,” said he, “that I will use all my influence with the Emperor to obtain his consent that you may return to your

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\* In the course of a few days our new clothes were brought to us. Those for Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff and myself were made of a cherry-coloured cotton stuff, somewhat resembling frieze, which the Japanese call *mompā*, and were wadded and lined with cotton. The sailors' clothes were of common cotton stuff, wadded and lined, and of the same form as ours. They were all, however, very singularly shaped; being neither cloaks, great-coats, nor night-gowns, though they bore some resemblance to garments of each of these denominations. Alexei had a night-dress made after the Japanese form.



native country. I will provide you with paper and ink in order that you may draw up an account of your case in the Russian language, and with the help of the interpreters get it translated into Japanese. I will examine it, transmit it to the government, and will see that every thing is terminated to your advantage. You may also draw up a petition to be presented to me." We thanked him for his kindness, and returned to our melancholy prison; not knowing whether these consolations of the Japanese were sincere or feigned.

We did not again appear before the Bunyo until the 6th of October. Our food in Matsmai was incomparably better than it had been in Chakodade. According to the Japanese custom, stewed rice and pickled radishes served us instead of bread and seasoning. We were besides frequently furnished with good fresh and salt fish, boiled or fried; soups in which were various wild herbs or macaroni; and they sometimes prepared for us a kind of Russian soup or sauce, made with white fish and muscle broth. The fish were fried in oil of poppies, and were seasoned with grated radish and soy. When the snow began to fall, they shot for us sea dogs, bears, and frequently hares. The Japanese consider the flesh of whales, and sea lions, to be the most delicate of all food. Our attendants, some of whom had been in Russia, were ordered to cook our victuals in the way we liked best. We were accordingly sometimes regaled

with small patties of barley-meal with fish, which were pretty savoury, and they also gave us a kind of dark-coloured grits boiled. These were the only imitations of Russian dishes they knew how to prepare. Our meals were usually served to us thrice every day. Our drink consisted either of luke-warm or hot tea; and when we returned from the castle, our attendants usually presented each of us with two tea-cups full of warm sagi; this they never failed to do when the weather was colder than usual.

We were living almost in the open air; and, as the weather was extremely cold, the Japanese gave to each of our sailors a large night-dress, and one bear-skin; they furnished the officers, and myself, with two bear-skins each, and placed benches for us to sleep upon, as they had heard that the Russians did not like to lie on the ground. They, besides, gave the sailors a bench to sit upon. These attentions, however, corresponded very ill with our rigorous confinement, and therefore appeared to us very singular.

Besides the orderly officers, who came to us by turns during the day, a particular officer was appointed to look after our provisions. The kind manners of the Japanese emboldened us to ask one of the officers, whether we could not have a window made in the back wall of the prison, as through the palisades we could discover nothing but the sky and the tops of a few trees. He did

not oppose our request, but examined the wall, and asked us where we thought it would be best to make the window. We felt reason to hope that our request would be complied with ; but we were deceived. On the renewal of our solicitation, a few days afterwards, the officer replied, that the Japanese were careful of our health, and feared lest the bleak north-winds might give us cold. We were consequently compelled to give up all thoughts of the window !

From the 6th of October to the end of the month, we were conducted regularly every day, or every other day, to the Bunyo, who usually detained us the greater part of the day, so that our attendants were obliged to carry our meals to the castle. About the middle of October \*, when the frost began, the Bunyo left off receiving us in the saloon, and our examinations afterwards took place in a chamber of justice, similar to that at Chakodade, and which was likewise hung round with instruments of punishment. The number of questions which the Bunyo asked was incalculable. If he put one interrogatory concerning any circumstance connected with our case, he asked fifty, which were unimportant, and many which were ludicrous. This so puzzled and tormented us, that

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\* The first snow fell in Matsmai, on the night of the 14th of October ; but it was melted by a thaw a few days afterwards. Towards the middle of November the snow fell very thick, and the winter then set in.

we sometimes made very insolent replies. We once stated plainly, that we had rather they would put an end to our existence at once, than torture us in the way they did. Who would not have lost patience on being asked such questions as the following ? When I was taken, I had ten or twelve keys of my bureau and drawers, and of the astronomical instruments belonging to the ship. The Bunyo wished to be informed of the contents of every drawer, and every box. When I pointed to my shirt, and told him that my drawers contained such things as these ; he asked me how many I had ? I told him, with some degree of ill-humour, that I did not know ; and that it was my servant's business to keep that reckoning. Upon this he immediately inquired how many servants I had, and what were their names and ages ? I lost all patience, and asked the Japanese why they teased us with such questions, and what use such information could be to them, since neither my servants nor property were near me ? The Governor then, with great mildness, observed that he hoped we were not offended by his curiosity ; that he did not intend to force any answers from us, but merely questioned us like a friend. This kindness immediately calmed our irritation, and we reproached ourselves for the rude answers we had given. The Bunyo then asked a few questions relative to our business, but soon resumed his old system of examination, and at length

dismissed us, harnessed as usual, like so many horses. In this manner we frequently quarrelled, and adjusted our disputes three or four times in the course of a day.

In order to enable the reader to form some notion of the questions which the Japanese put to us, and the trouble it cost us to explain the various things which excited their curiosity, I subjoin a few of their interrogatories ; scarcely, however, the hundredth part of the useless inquiries which they were accustomed to make in the course of one day. It must, moreover, be considered that we had to make ourselves understood to them by means of a half-barbarous Kurile, who knew scarcely any thing of the subjects on which we conversed, and who knew of no words in the Kurile language to express many of the terms which we made use of. The Japanese interrogated us without any kind of regularity, and often jumped from one subject to another. The following is a specimen of one of our examinations.

What kind of dress does the Emperor of Russia wear ?—What does he wear on his head ?\* What kind of birds are found in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg ?—What would be the price in Russia of the clothes which we were then wearing ?—What number of cannon was planted

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\* When they heard that Mr. Moor was a good draughtsman, they requested him to draw the figure of our emperor's hat upon a piece of paper.

found the imperial palace ?\*—What wool is made use of in Europe for manufacturing cloth ?†—What quadrupeds, birds and fish are eaten in Russia ?—In what manner do the Russians eat their food ?—What dress do the ladies wear ?—What kind of horse does the Emperor usually ride ?—Who accompanies him, when he goes abroad ?—Are the Russians partial to the Dutch ?—How many foreigners are there in Russia ?—What are the chief articles of trade in Petersburg ?—What are the dimensions in the length, breadth and height of the imperial palace ?‡—How many windows does it contain ?—How many times do the Russians go to church in one day ?—How many festivals do the Russians observe in the course of the year ?—Do the Rus-

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\* On our informing them that the sovereigns of Europe did not fortify their palaces, they at first seemed to doubt the truth of what we said. They, however, afterwards expressed their astonishment at what they termed so singular an instance of imprudence.

† On our mentioning sheep, they requested Mr. Moor to draw them the figures of a sheep, and a goat. At length they asked him for horses, asses, coaches, sledges, &c. in a word they wished to have every thing represented on paper which they could not see in Japan. They always made their requests with the utmost politeness, and therefore he could not possibly refuse them, although he found it a very tedious and troublesome task to satisfy all their demands. Fortunately, however, he sketched with astonishing rapidity.

‡ When we replied that we did not know, they requested that we would inform them according to supposition. This they never failed to do whenever we sought to evade their questions. They frequently put us out of humour by making inquiries respecting things

sians wear silk clothes?—At what time of life do the Russian women begin, and cease to bear children?—They besides inquired the names of the Emperor, and of all the branches of the imperial family; the names of the governors-general of Siberia and Irkutzk, and of the commandants of Okotzk, and Kamtschatka, &c. &c.

But the Japanese vexed us most of all by their inquiries respecting barracks. I have already observed that in Chakodade they insisted on knowing how many men were under our command according to our rank, when we were ashore. This question was again repeated, together with a request to know where the sailors lived in Petersburg? In barracks we replied. They then requested Mr. Moor to sketch, from the best of his recollection, a plan of Petersburg, and to point out in what part of the town the sailors' barracks were. This demand was no sooner complied with, than they made inquiries respecting the length, breadth and height of the barracks; the number of gates, windows and doors they contained; and further into how many stories they

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of which we could not possibly possess any knowledge, such for instance as: how many harbours are there in Europe, in which ships are built? and how many ships of war and merchantmen are there in all Europe? We might indeed have invented an answer of some kind or other; but we found it necessary to be upon our guard as they frequently questioned us on the same subject at different times, and in different ways.

were divided ; in what part of the building the sailors lived ; how they employed their time ; how many men were appointed to guard the barracks, &c. But this was not all, they questioned us about the military barracks ; asked how many buildings of that kind there were in Petersburg, in what part of the town they were situated, and what number of men they contained ? We thought it best to plead ignorance of most of these matters, but this did not induce the Japanese to discontinue their trifling. They inquired in what part of the city our dwellings were situated, how far they were from the palace, and requested us to point out the spot on the sketch which Mr. Moor had drawn. At length they wished to know how large our houses were, and how many servants we kept. I frequently thought that the Japanese took a pleasure thus to torment us ; for to reply to all the questions which their insatiable curiosity induced them to put to us, was a real martyrdom. We sometimes absolutely refused to answer them, and told them that they might if they pleased put us to death. The Bunyo would then endeavour to reconcile us by expressions of regard and inquiries respecting matters relative to our imprisonment, but he would soon resume his childishness. We avoided, by every possible manœuvre, giving them any opportunity for unnecessary questions ; we replied in a short manner, and sometimes gave them only half an answer. But



every word carried with it a train of interrogatories. They admired the fine hand writing and drawing of Mr. Moor: they looked upon him to be an exceeding learned man, and asked where he had been educated. Mr. Moor took care not to tell them that he had been brought up in the Naval Cadet-College: to avoid the thousand questions which would infallibly have ensued respecting that institution, he merely said that he had received his education in his uncle's house. Then followed a string of questions concerning his uncle: who he was, whether he was rich, where he resided, and whether he had himself been Moor's instructor? &c. On his informing them that he had had tutors, they inquired their names, where they had been educated, &c. When they asked me where I was brought up, I told them in my father's house, and naturally concluded that there would be an end of the matter; but I was under a mistake, I was obliged to inform them when and how I had acquired my education, whether my father was a man of property, and with what sciences he was acquainted.

The Japanese at last produced all the things which they had taken from us, inquired their names, their uses, where they had been manufactured, and how much they cost. They took down all our answers in writing and placed a label with a superscription on each of the articles. One day, a box full of my English and French books was brought

into the presence of the Bunyo, though we had not been previously informed of their being sent from the sloop. The Japanese took up the books one by one, showed them to us and inquired respecting their contents. With regard to some of the books, this explanation was easy enough ; but, with others, we experienced no small difficulty. Among the latter was the *Physics of Libes*, in three volumes, in the French language. This work contains numerous plans of various instruments and machines, which powerfully excited the curiosity of the Japanese. Every thing they saw filled them with amazement. They declared themselves overjoyed that such a book should have fallen into their hands, and requested an explanation of all the figures which most pleased them. In vain did we tell them that with such an interpreter as Alexei, we could not possibly make them understand the meaning of the plates ; they entreated that we would give them some notion of what kind of book it was. We told Alexei that the book treated of the means of raising heavy weights, and shewed him one of the plates representing a crane and block. He immediately understood us and translated what we said to the Japanese. But this did not satisfy them, they replied that such things had long since been well known to them. They pointed to one of the plates explanatory of the refraction of rays, and asked us what it meant, and whether it did not relate to the distance between the sun and the earth ?

With regard to the circumstances relative to our imprisonment, the Bunyo asked all the questions which we had previously answered in Chakodade. He repeated them once, and sometimes twice during the day; but he always seemed to consider the satisfaction of his own curiosity as the most important object, and all else as mere accessory matters. A wish was, however, shewn to have clear and decided answers, to any question relative to our own case. We learned that our two attendants were the same Japanese who had been carried off from the Island of Sagaleen by Chwostoff, and who were detained by him for a whole winter at Kamtschatka, and then sent back to Japan. What had been his object in doing this, we knew not. Those attendants constantly accompanied us to the castle, and were always present during the examinations or rather conversations. The Bunyo once asked a question concerning Chwostoff, and immediately spoke to one of the attendants. The latter answered (for we understood the purport of what he said perfectly well,) that Chwostoff wore a uniform ornamented with gold lace, the same as mine and Mr. Moor's. The Japanese looked at us and smiled. The Bunyo then said that the two attendants Heinste and Fok-Masse, who had been taken before the chief-commandant of Kamtschatka, had heard him declare that he would overrun Japan with a numerous army; and that, instead of merely blustering there as Chwostoff had

done, he would burn and destroy every thing he could find. We replied that it appeared to us improbable that the commandant of Kamtschatka should have made any such declaration, that the expressions had perhaps been made use of by one of the officers of the garrison, and that, even allowing it to be true, the commandant of Kamtschatka was a person of no importance in Russia, and might, if he pleased, talk nonsense as well as other people. Our government, as we have already proved to them, entertained no such intentions; otherwise its hostilities would not have been confined to empty threats, and the Japanese would soon have experienced the difference between a predatory attack made by a private individual, and a regular war declared by the Emperor. The Bunyo was not in the least degree offended by this answer, and continued his questions with his usual civility.

At the close of this examination the Bunyo informed us that we should not be conveyed to the castle for some time again, in order to afford us time to draw up a written statement of our case, with the assistance of the interpreter Kumaddsche-ro, to whom he had given every necessary instruction. He accordingly dismissed us, with an exhortation not to yield to despair; but to offer up prayers to Heaven, and to place confidence therein; adding, that in case we stood in need of any thing, he requested us immediately to inform him, since

we should experience every indulgence which he could give consistently with the laws of his country.

I must not omit to mention several marks of attention which the Japanese shewed to us during the month of October. I have already observed that they provided us with warm clothing and bear-skins; but as the cold continued to increase, they stopped up the spaces between the spars with paper, and at our earnest entreaty, made windows at the top, which opened and shut by means of a rope. From these windows we could indeed discover nothing but the sky and the tops of a few trees, but in our sad condition we derived some consolation even from this prospect. They besides dug large holes for hearths, at about one and a half or two paces from each cage,\* which they built round with thick free-stone and filled with sand. In these fire-places, they burnt charcoal from morning

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\* Several officers, the interpreter, the physician, and an architect, assembled like the members of a council, to debate concerning the precise spots where these holes should be dug. The ground was examined and measured, and upwards of an hour was spent in deliberation. At first we naturally supposed that some affair of mighty importance was in agitation, but we soon learnt what it all tended to. They wished the fires to be kindled at such a distance that we could not reach the coals with our hands, though we could smoke our pipes by means of the long tubes they supplied us with. This dilatory and trifling turn of the Japanese caused us much vexation. If (thought we,) they deliberate for an hour about matters of this nature, how long will it be ere they bring the investigation of our case to an issue?

to night, which warmed us when we seated ourselves on the ground near the spars. In course of a few days, they supplied us with tobacco for smoking, and very long pipes, to the middle of which a wooden ball was affixed, of so large a size that it would not pass between the palisades, and which was intended to hinder us from drawing the burning pipes into our prisons. We felt irritated at this singular instance of distrust, and reproached the Japanese in pretty plain terms, for the barbarous opinion they entertained of the Europeans. They, however, laughed and referred to their laws, which obliged them to remove from the reach of their prisoners any thing by which **they might** commit violence, either on themselves or **others**. They told us that we were only permitted to smoke tobacco through the particular favour of the Governor, and that without violating their laws, they had granted us some indulgences, and had kindled fires for us: they therefore observed that we ought not murmur at any trifling restriction. This explanation consoled us; we were glad to find that the Japanese did not adhere strictly to the letter of their law, and that they often made evasions in our favour. In the present case, the Japanese had to take care to avoid a war with Russia; it was accordingly natural enough that they should rather chuse not to be over punctual in expounding their statutes, than to draw down upon themselves the anger of a warlike

and powerful neighbour. They, moreover, assured us that our condition would be bettered in course of time, and that at length, the highest mark of favour they could shew us, would be to send us back to our native country. They observed that the Japanese never did any thing rashly; that with them, every measure was executed slowly and deliberately, and that, consequently, our condition could only be gradually improved. This we well knew from experience, for we had never yet received two civilities or favours in the course of the same day.

Among the many marks of kindness with which the Bunyo honoured us, one in particular deserves to be noticed. There were one day shewn to us, several models of boats and ships, which appeared to us to be Chinese; a silver ruble bearing the head of Catherine II; a Japanese bag containing about two pounds of rice, and an elegant case of flasks, partly lacquered and partly gilt, which was the property of the Bunyo. The Japanese asked us whether we had ever seen any thing in Europe like the models and the case of flasks? and further, what was the name and value of the coin, and what quantity of rice the bag would contain, according to Russian weight? Their questions were short and unaccompanied by the usual digressions. They then poured from the flasks some excellent *sagi* and cordials, which they presented to us. The interpreter, Kumaddscheru, gave us to understand

that this was done by order of the Bunyo, who, according to their laws, could not entertain us in his own house. I must likewise observe that the Japanese did every thing which they thought would contribute to our comfort, and were particularly watchful of our health. Our physician visited us daily, and if we felt the slightest indisposition, repeated his visits twice or three times in course of the day, and in cases which appeared in any degree dangerous, he brought another physician along with him. Their attention to us, went to so great a length, that one night, when a fire broke out in the city,\* our guards came into our cage and explained to us the cause of the alarm, and desired us not to trouble ourselves about it. However, during the first few days of our imprisonment at Matsmai, they were far from paying such particular regard to us.

I must not omit mentioning one very laughable circumstance, the real cause of which we were unable to devine. Our meals were superintended by an old officer sixty years of age. He behaved very civilly to us, and frequently consoled us with the assurance that we should be sent back to Russia. One day he brought to us three portraits of Japanese ladies, very richly dressed. We sup-

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\* The fire broke out owing to the carelessness of the guards on board of a vessel, which was lying on the shore underneath a shed. In cases of fire, the Japanese sound an alarm, and beat drums through the streets.



posed that he meant merely to shew them to us, and we were about to return them to him, when he desired us to keep them. We refused, but he insisted that we should accept of them. We asked him what use they could be to us ? and he replied that we might amuse ourselves by looking at them when the time hung heavily on our hands. We then asked whether we were in a situation to be amused by the sight of such beauties ? Indeed the figures were so wretchedly designed, that they were calculated only to excite aversion and ridicule. The old man, however, insisted on our accepting of his portraits ; we complied with his wish, and afterwards made the interpreter Kumaddscherro a present of them. Mr. Moor jokingly told him that we did not wish to keep the portraits, lest we might be induced to request his countrymen to send the fair originals to amuse us, and asked him whether he thought the Governor would accede to such a demand ? No, no, replied Kumaddscherro, laughing, not now ; sometime hence perhaps.\*

During the last fortnight of the month of October, we were occupied in drawing up a statement of our case. We were furnished with paper and ink, and Kumaddscherro directed us how to prepare our memorial. At first we entered into a serious dispute with the Japanese on this subject, and refused to write any thing at all. Kumadd-

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\* Indulgences of this kind are, however, granted to the Dutch who visit Japan.

schero required that we should write on separate sheets of paper for ourselves and the sailors, a kind of affidavit, setting forth where we were born, what were the names of our fathers and mothers, how long we had been in the naval service? &c. This we immediately did ; and he next wished us to state on the same sheets of paper, all the absurd things respecting which we had been questioned : for instance, that the Russians buried their dead in church-yards on the outside of the city, that they erected crucifixes and other monuments over their tombs, &c. But this we refused to do ; declaring that a whole life would be insufficient to note down on paper all our answers to the silly questions which had been put to us, and that the Bunyo had merely required a statement of our case to be translated into Japanese. The Japanese were at first displeased at our refusal, and endeavoured to persuade us to do what they declared would be to our own advantage. We, however, obstinately persisted in our determination ; and they then requested that we would write down all the circumstances that had occurred to us since our departure from Petersburg ; adding, that they wished every thing to be made as short as possible, excepting what related to our communications with the Japanese, with every particular of which they desired to be made acquainted. This we agreed to do, and told Kumaddschero that we would, during his absence, write out

our case, and when he should be present, with the assistance of Alexei, we would have it translated into Japanese. He requested that we would write the copy which was to be translated, in such a way as to leave room between every two lines for one or two more.

We accordingly set to work, and in order that we might reserve a copy of the statement for ourselves, we first of all wrote it out in a rough style: but in doing this we experienced considerable difficulty: we were obliged to proceed with the greatest caution, lest we should be observed by our guards\*; who would have taken the papers from us. Mr. Chlebnikoff usually sat near the spars, wrapped in a large night-gown, turning his back towards the Japanese: he wrote with a straw†, and placed his ink, in a small wooden spoon‡, before him. I walked up and down, and winked to him whenever any of the guards changed their position, so as to be able to observe what he was doing. We were afraid to use for this purpose the

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\* They scarcely ever turned their eyes away from us.

† The Japanese write with hair-pencils instead of pens, and Mr. Chlebnikoff could not have used pencils without the knowledge of the Japanese. We were obliged therefore to have recourse to the straws which lay on the floor of our prison.

‡ The Japanese neither make use of spoons nor forks, but eat their victuals with two slender reeds. Food of a fluid nature they sip out of the dish as we do tea. For this reason the Kuriles had made for us, during our journey, some small wooden spoons; one of which we now converted into an ink-stand.

paper with which Kumaddschero had provided us, lest the sheets might have been counted ; we therefore wrote on the coarse paper which had been given to us for pocket-handkerchiefs. Mr. Moor, in the meanwhile wrote out a fair copy of our statement, which we dictated under pretence of conversing with him. The trouble which our interpreters Alexei and Kumaddschero gave us, whilst they were making the translation, is inconceivable. We endeavoured by all possible means to avoid such words and phrases as Alexei could not understand ; for example, instead of *very* or *much*, we were obliged to make use of the word *violent* ; instead of *hostilities*, *blows* ; instead of *peaceable intentions*, *good meaning*, &c. Our style of writing would therefore have appeared singular enough to any body but our interpreters. Notwithstanding all this, we were frequently unable to make Alexei comprehend us, and even when he did understand our meaning, he could sometimes find no corresponding words and expressions to convey what we intended to the Japanese interpreter.

Kumaddschero adopted the following plan. He first asked us how the Russians sounded particular words, and then described the pronunciation in Japanese characters, above the word itself. When he had completed a sheet in this way, he would ask us the signification of each of the words, and would write it down in Japanese above the

pronunciation. This, however, gave us no little trouble. He was a man of about fifty years of age, naturally stupid; he had no notion whatever of any European language, and was totally ignorant of grammar. If we explained to him the meaning of a word, either through Alexei's interpretation, or by gesticulations and examples, he would listen attentively to every thing we said, and then exclaim *O-o-o*; which, in the Japanese language, is equivalent to "Yes, yes, I understand." We sometimes spent half an hour in explaining a word to him, and when we thought we had made him fully understand it, he would again ask us what it meant, declaring that he could form no idea of its signification. We frequently lost all patience, and reproached him for his stupidity; but he would excuse himself by saying, that he was old, and found the acquirement of the Russian language extremely difficult. He spent two whole days in endeavouring to comprehend the word *imperial*.

We occupied two hours at a time, trying to explain it to him by every example we could think of, and Alexei, who understood the word perfectly well, did all in his power to render it intelligible to him. Kumaddscherō would listen attentively to all we said, laugh and mutter out his *O-o-ssō*! but scarcely had we finished speaking, when he would say, I understand *emperor* quite well, but *imperial, imperial*, I cannot comprehend that at all. Prepositions and conjunctions could find no

access to his stupid head. It was quite inconceivable to him, that we should place them before the noun substantives to which they referred, whilst, in the Japanese language, they are always placed after them. This particularly excited his astonishment, and he would not believe that any thing could be well expressed in so barbarous and imperfect a language as he regarded the Russian to be. When he had once comprehended the meaning of the words, he began to labour at the construction of the sentences. Here new difficulties arose. He maintained that the Russian words ought to follow each other in the same order as those in the Japanese translation, and wished us to arrange them so, without perceiving that it made absolute nonsense. We assured him that this was impossible; but he declared that our translation would be considered incorrect, if we placed at the end of a sentence, a word which ought to stand at the beginning.

At length, after long debates and disputes, we desired him to think on some Japanese and Kurile phrases, and asked him whether he could arrange them word for word in both languages? "I know that is impossible," replied he, "but the Kuriles are an uncultivated people, whose language has no manuscript character; while, on the contrary, books are printed in the Russian." We laughed heartily at this observation, and Kumaddschero, with his accustomed good-humour, joined

us. We pledged our word of honour, that though the different European languages contained phrases bearing a resemblance to each other, it was impossible to arrange the vocables in the same manner in every one, and that this was the case with regard to the Japanese and Russian languages. This appeared to satisfy him. When he understood the meaning of any sentence in Russian, he endeavoured to construe it by corresponding expressions in Japanese, and no longer troubled himself about the order of the words. He seemed highly pleased, however, when they happened accidentally to follow each other in the same order. He then hurried on, and was sure to commit blunders; for, in cases where the Japanese words followed each other as in the Russian, but yet conveyed a very different sense, he wrote them down with great satisfaction, and always shewed himself reluctant to make any alterations when we told him he had misunderstood our meaning.

When we had finished our translation, which was not until the middle of November, we drew up a petition to be presented to the Bunyo, in which we addressed him by the title of **Excellency**, and entreated that he would take into consideration every circumstance tending to our justification, and request the Japanese Government to set us at liberty, and send us back to Russia. The translation of this petition cost us no less trouble than our memorial. At

length, after numerous questions, explanations, remarks, additions, &c. which were made in conformity to the wish of the Japanese officer, who examined the translations, we were informed that we should shortly be required to appear before the Bunyo, who wished to question us personally concerning our statement, and to be convinced of its accurate translation.

Whilst we were occupied in this way, Alexei had obtained permission to remain alone with us in the absence of Kumaddscheru. As we entertained some doubts about his attachment to us, we thought it prudent, during our conversation, to make use of uncommon, and even foreign words, which he did not understand. Alexei observed this, and told us, with great sensibility, how much he regretted that we should withhold our confidence from him, as he was as good a Russian as ourselves, and served the same Emperor. He now informed us that the Japanese had sent to Kunashier part of the Kuriles whom they had seized on the Island of Eetooroop, and that the tale of their having been sent by the Russians, was invented by the party who remained at Eetooroop; the rest continued to deny it until the Japanese threatened to put them to the torture, and promised, in case they would avow all, to liberate and reward them. They did not, however, confirm the falsehoods which the others had asserted. "I am now resolved," continued Alexei, "to make known the



conduct of the Kuriles, and to suffer torture or even death to prove that I know God, and am as good as any Russian." To shorten his life by ten or twenty years, he said, was a trifling sacrifice ; if by that means he could save his soul from eternal damnation. He, therefore, entreated that we would insert in our statement all that he had related to us. He spoke with much firmness, and sensibility, and with a degree of eloquence so unusual to him, that we could not doubt the truth of what he said. We praised him for his good intention, and assured him that he would not be punished in Russia for a falsehood into which his companions had ensnared him ; though we feared the Japanese would not credit what he said, and would suspect that we had persuaded him to contradict his former declarations. We told him it would be better to reflect on the best mode of explaining the affair, as the Japanese might, perhaps, ask why he had not confessed the truth on board the ship, or at least as soon as we were made prisoners? "That will not cost me a thought," answered Alexei, "whether they believe me or not is a matter of indifference to me, so as I do but justify myself in the face of Heaven. I wish only to confess the truth : the Japanese may kill me if they will, I shall think it a happiness to die in such a cause." At these words the tears started from his eyes. We were so moved, that we ardently wished for some means of discovering the affair

to the Japanese, by which Alexei might not be a sufferer; but this seemed impossible.

He seized the first opportunity of disclosing the whole to Kumaddschero, and told him that the Kuriles had not been sent by the Russians; but that they had visited Japan of their own free will, and for the purposes of carrying on trade. Kumaddschero was struck with amazement at this declaration, and called Alexei a fool and a madman. Alexei, however, insisted that he had spoken nothing but the truth, for which he was at any time ready to lay down his life. We knew not whether Kumaddschero immediately communicated this declaration to his superiors. When, however, we were again conveyed to the castle, that the Bunyo himself, or some of his superior officers, might examine our translation, Alexei spoke with the same firmness and presence of mind on mention being made of the affair of the Kuriles. The Japanese were astonished at his accusing himself, called him a blockhead, and apparently believed that we had persuaded him to make this confession, which they regarded as a fabrication.

The firmness with which he persisted in the truth of his story, induced the Japanese to examine him several times alone. We feared that he might be led to deny his last declaration, and to confirm what he had first of all stated. On his return from the castle, we therefore endeavoured to read in his

countenance what was passing in his mind. We were frequently permitted to leave our cages, and to go to warm ourselves at the fire in the lobby, we accordingly found an opportunity of desiring the sailors to question Alexei concerning his examination; if his answers were satisfactory, we directed them to cough several times, and if not, they were to remain silent. To our great consolation, we heard a loud coughing in the evening, as if the sailors had been labouring under a severe cold. When, however, we found opportunities of discoursing with them in private, they expressed the greatest suspicion of Alexei, and firmly believed that he was deceiving us, by telling the Japanese a very different story. In support of this opinion they told us that he had been endeavouring to learn from them the object of our visit to the Kurile Islands, and had advised them to declare to the Japanese all they knew respecting our intentions. We were, however, convinced that Alexei was sincere, and that he had resolved to bring the truth to light, which finally proved to be the case.

When the Japanese had questioned Alexei on every necessary particular, we were again conducted into the presence of the Bunyo. His first question was, whether the Russians had really sent the Kuriles to the coast of Japan; and when Alexei had first disclosed to us that the Kuriles had deceived the Japanese? Here our answers did

not fully correspond with each other. Alexei had not exactly understood the agreement made between us, and consequently did not answer in the way we wished. The Japanese laughed outright. We knew not what passed between them; but the Japanese seemed to suspect that Alexei had been fabricating, in concert with us, an untruth, for the purpose of invalidating the declaration which had been first of all made by the Kuriles. Alexei's presence of mind did not, however, forsake him; he adhered to his assertion, and requested to be confronted with his countrymen. The Japanese would never inform us, whether, after the departure of the *Diana*, they had suffered the Kuriles to leave Eetooroop; if we questioned our guards on this subject, some replied, that they knew nothing of the matter; some declared that the Kuriles had been sent home, and others that they were still at Eetooroop. We retired very sorrowfully to our prison, for the Japanese, we were persuaded, looked upon Alexei's declaration as a falsehood of our invention. We were convinced that they regarded us as spies and impostors; Heaven alone was witness to our innocence. The idea of enduring everlasting imprisonment, at a distance from our dear native country, overwhelmed us with despair; and death appeared a thousand times preferable to the situation we were then in. The Japanese observed our despondency, and did all they could to console us: they supplied us with

better food than usual, and under the plea of taking care of our health, provided us with new wadded night-dresses.

On the 19th of September, we were again conducted to the castle. Our guards, attendants, and the interpreter, were exceedingly cheerful, and informed us that the Governor had an agreeable piece of news to communicate to us. We were unable to divine what they alluded to. We remained for a considerable time in the anti-chamber, before we were conducted to the Hall of Justice, in which all the officers of the city were assembled. The Bunyo at length entered; and, having taken his seat, asked us whether we were well\*, and whether we were ready to confirm all we had said respecting Chwostoff, and our not having visited their coasts with any evil intention? We re-asserted all that we had before stated; and he then delivered a speech of considerable length, of which Alexei, as usual, could interpret only the principal points. It was to the following effect:—The Japanese, at first, supposed, that we intended to plunder and burn their villages, and founded their opinion on Chwostoff's conduct, and other circumstances already known to us. For this reason, they had enticed us into their garrison,

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\* He never failed to welcome us with an inquiry respecting our health. He frequently asked us whether we were comfortable, whether our food was as good as we wished, and whether our attendants treated us with civility.

and had detained us by force, in order to ascertain what had induced the Russians to commence hostilities, as the Japanese had uniformly entertained friendly dispositions towards them. The Bunyo, however, gave credit to our explanation of the affair, and regarded us as innocent; he had accordingly given orders for removing the ropes with which we were bound, and would do all that lay in his power to better our condition. If it depended on him to grant us our freedom and send us back to Russia, he would do so without hesitation; but we must be informed that the Obunyo of Matsmai was not the chief individual of the state; but that Japan was ruled by an Emperor and a superior Government, whose commands he was bound to obey in all cases of importance, and without whose consent he could not grant us our freedom. On his part, however, he would use all his influence with the Government in our favour, and to facilitate our return to Russia. With this view he had sent one of the principal officers of Matsmai to Yeddo, the capital, to endeavour to bring our affair to the wished-for issue. In the meanwhile he entreated us not to give way to despair, but to offer up prayers to Heaven\*, and patiently await the decision

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\* Whenever he said any thing to console us, he reminded us to rely on God, a circumstance with which we were particularly pleased. It was satisfactory to reflect, that the people into whose power fate had delivered us, entertained a just idea of the Supreme Being, and placed faith in the Almighty Ruler of all nations, before whom all must sooner or later render an account of their actions.

of the Emperor of Japan. When Alexei had finished his explanation, and the Japanese perceived that we understood him, our ropes were immediately taken off, and they all sincerely congratulated us. Two of them,\* in particular, were so moved by this scene, that they shed tears. We returned thanks to the Governor and Officers for their kind wishes, and the sympathy they had testified for our misfortunes. The Governor then retired, and we were conducted from the Hall of Justice. Our guards and attendants now wished us joy, as well as a number of persons both of high and low rank whom curiosity had attracted to the spot.

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\* The officer next in command to the Governor, named Sootzykee Dzeenn-Nno, and our interpreter, Kumaddschere.

## CHAPTER V.

ON returning to our prison, we found, to our astonishment, every thing changed ; and we could scarcely comprehend how the Japanese had contrived to effect so complete an alteration in so short a time. The spars or railings in front of our cages were removed ; the spaces which before served us for passages, were thrown into the cages, the floor was laid with planks in the direction of its length, and covered with new mats, so that our prison was converted into a roomy hall, in which we could walk about and converse at our ease. Near the fire-hearth wooden compartments were formed, in which a tea-cup for each of us was placed ; on the hearth stood copper kettles with water for tea,\* and a pipe, with a little pouch of tobacco, was laid ready for each. Instead of lamps with fish-oil, candles were burnt. We wondered not a little at this unexpected and rapid metamorphosis.

We had scarcely recovered from our astonish-

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\* The Japanese burn a fire on the hearth from morning till evening, both in winter and summer. Men and women sit round the fire and smoke tobacco. The kettles are never off the fire, as tea is their common beverage for quenching thirst. If they have no tea, they drink warm water, but never taste cold. Even their sagi they like better warm than cold.



ment, when several officers, with their children, came to visit us. They offered us their congratulations, seated themselves by the fire, and smoked and chatted with us. In a word, we seemed no longer prisoners, but guests. Supper was not handed to us as usual, in cups or basins, but was served up, according to the Japanese custom, on trays. The vessels used were entirely new, and a finer sort was allotted to the officers than to the sailors. The aliments were better than before, and the *sagi* was no longer dealt out to us in certain portions, in cups, but was placed before us, as wine is in Europe, so that we might fill it out as we pleased.

This kind treatment revived the hope of again seeing our country, and we passed a tranquil night, for the first time since our imprisonment. The two following days were spent equally agreeably, and we considered our speedy return to Russia as certain. But our joy was not of long duration! New occurrences induced us to doubt the sincerity of the Japanese. We soon had to revert to our old meals, and nothing remained except the new utensils. The oil lamp again served to give us light, and the ropes which had been removed, were again hung up by our guards in their former situation. We, besides, learned that the Commandant or Governor of Kunaschier, who had entrapped us, his deputy, and the officer who gave us the letter in the Isle of Eetobroop,

had arrived at Matsmai, and that the Bunyo had resolved to examine Alexei in their presence. From this, we plainly perceived that the Bunyo did not consider the investigation respecting us as yet brought to a conclusion. On Alexei's return to the castle, he told us that the Bunyo had threatened him with death for the falsehood of his former declarations ; but that he had firmly stated that he feared nothing, and was ready to die for the sake of truth ! Upon hearing this the Bunyo ceased to threaten, assumed a tone of good humour, desired him to think no more on what had passed, and informed him that he would soon be called upon again for another examination.

Shortly after this, Kumaddscherö brought to us a young man of twenty-five, named Murakami-Teske, and said the Bunyo wished us to teach him Russian, in order that he might examine the translation of our manuscript, as the Japanese Government required that documents of this description should be certified by two interpreters. We asked what the declaration of the Bunyo then meant, when he pledged himself to better our situation, and to procure us our liberty ? That is what the Bunyo wishes to do, replied Kumaddscherö, but the Government requires that every paper should be translated by two interpreters. This statement vexed us not a little, and, as we believed it insincere, we answered the interpreter with some degree of irritation, saying, that " We saw plainly the

Japanese were deceiving us, and did not intend to set us free, because they wished to make use of us as teachers ; but that they had made a great mistake ! We were ready to die, but not to become the instructors of the Japanese. Were they, however, in the first place, to assure us of the certainty of our return to Russia, we would labour day and night until the period of our departure, to teach them all we knew ; but after the deceit they had practised, we were not disposed to undertake any such task." Kumaddscherro laughed and protested that there had been no deception, and that we could only think so in consequence of our ignorance of the Japanese laws. At last, Messrs. Moor, Chlebnikoff and myself consulted what we ought to do, and resolved to give the new interpreter some instructions until the spring, by which time we should see whether or not the Japanese were inclined to grant us our liberty.

We had scarcely intimated our consent to give instructions to Teske, when he appeared with a chest full of manuscripts, consisting of vocabularies, drawn up by Japanese who had been in Russia, and of information concerning Russia, as each of these individuals had been required to make a report to the government on every thing he had seen. The physician Togo and Kumaddscherro frequently visited us along with Teske. Kumaddscherro informed me, that the Bunyo wished us, in addition to teaching Teske the Russian

tongue, to enable him to draw up a statistical account of Russia and other European states, and that the Japanese would be extremely thankful for that information. We considered, that in the present state of things, some advantage might arise, not only to ourselves, but even to Russia, by our communicating to the Japanese such facts as we thought it advisable to make them acquainted with, and we readily agreed to undertake this task. To avoid, however, being troubled with innumerable questions respecting trifles, we remarked, that persons who, like us, had spent almost the whole of their lives at sea, could not be expected to give all the information respecting Russia which the Japanese might wish to obtain.\* We were then very politely informed, that the Japanese would be perfectly satisfied with such information as we were capable of giving them.

Teske shewed extraordinary capacity even in the very first lessons we gave him. He had an excellent memory and pronounced the Russian words with such facility, that we conjectured he had previously learned the language, and was purposely concealing his knowledge of it, or, at least, that he

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\* Among the English books sent to us, we found "Tooke's View of the Russian Empire," which contained almost every thing of which the Japanese would have desired to be informed. We, however, concealed the real nature of that book from them, as we were afraid they would compel us to translate it. Other reasons also induced us to adopt this course.

was acquainted with some other European tongues. We had scarcely commenced to instruct him, when he remarked, that Kumaddschero did not pronounce the words in the same manner we did, and quickly caught the correct sound: we had therefore to go over again the whole of the dictionary which Kumaddschero had drawn up, and he wrote above each word its pronunciation, according to the Japanese orthography.

Our pupils visited us daily and remained with us from morning till night, leaving us only at the time they went to dinner. When the weather was bad they had their victuals brought to them in the prison.\* Teske soon learned to read and proceeded to enter in a vocabulary, the words he had heard us speak, spelt in the Russian alphabetic character. This, Kumaddschero never attempted to do; indeed Teske learned more in a day, than Kumaddschero in a fortnight. While collecting in-

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\* The Japanese made a distinction between a place of the kind in which we lived and a real prison. The former they called *Oksio*, the latter *Ro*. The difference, according to their account, consisted in there being no fire in a prison and in the persons confined receiving no allowance of tea, tobacco or sagi; of the last of which we had every four or five days two tea-cups full given us. In a *Ro* the food is also worse, even the rice is only served out in limited quantities. The building, and the strictness with which the persons confined are guarded, are, however, the same in both places. We, at first supposed, that an *Oksio* was a place destined for prisoners of war, but, we afterwards learned, that Japanese were incarcerated in it. An *Oksio* may therefore be regarded as merely a prison of a superior kind.

formation from us respecting Russia, and other European countries, and with great diligence translating the whole into the Japanese, he never failed to enter the Russian words in his lexicon, and to annex to them his own remarks. He also endeavoured to ascertain whether the reports, made by the Japanese who had been in Russia, were correct. This gave him occasion to propose various questions to us.

We were now allowed the use of pens, ink and paper, and to write whatever we pleased, and we accordingly proceeded to make collections of Japanese words. We were, however, afraid to put our observations on paper, as we apprehended that the Japanese might, at some future time, take our manuscripts from us.

A few days after we became acquainted with Teske, he brought along with him his brother, a youth of fourteen, and told us that the Bunyo desired we should also teach him Russian. "Your Bunyo may desire what he pleases," we sharply replied, "but we are not inclined to do whatever he may wish. We have already declared that we would rather sacrifice our lives than remain in Japan on any conditions, still less will we submit to be made pedagogues of. We plainly see the object of all the flattering assurances we have received. We were told that one interpreter was not sufficient for the translation of our memorial, the law requiring two; having consented to teach another we are

now required to instruct a boy. In this way a whole school will soon be formed, but that we will never agree to. We are few in number, and unarmed, and our lives may soon be taken, but we are resolved not to be made schoolmasters." This answer irritated Teske extremely. Being of a warm temperament, he was in a rage in an instant; spoke, contrary to the custom of the Japanese, very loud, and threatened that we should be compelled to do what we were ordered, whether we liked it or not. We, with equal warmth, defied his power, or any that might be exercised over us; telling him that, to put us to death was easy, but to force us to do what we were determined not to do was impossible. In this way the dispute was kept up for some time, and, at last he left us, still in a violent passion.

We expected that this affair would be followed with some disagreeable consequences, but we experienced none. Next morning Teske came to us with a very friendly air, and apologized for the angry manner in which he had expressed himself on the preceding day, and for having thus indiscreetly given us offence. He attributed his conduct to a passionate character which he inherited from nature, and prayed that we would forget what had passed, and again become friends. We, on our part, also thought it prudent to apologize, and a reconciliation was, of course, soon accomplished. Teske now brought his brother with him, but

merely in the quality of a visitor. Some days after, however, he again spoke of the Bunyo's wish to make him a Russian interpreter, and said, as if in jest, that it would be better for us if we consented to teach him. We replied, that if the Japanese desired to live in a state of peace and friendship with Russia, we would take his brother and several other youths home with us, where they would not only have the opportunity of learning the Russian language, but a great many other useful branches of knowledge. After this he spoke no more on the subject.

Meanwhile we could not learn whether the assurances the Bunyo had given us were likely to be realized ; but it appeared probable that the Japanese Government was not inclined to credit our statements. It was evident that a doubt was entertained respecting the correctness of our translation, of the letter from the officers of the *Diana*, and the Japanese fell at last on the following expedient to discover whether we had not deceived them. They ruled some paper in four columns, in one of which they inserted, in alphabetic order, all the words of the letter, omitting only the words they already knew ; such as, my name, the word Japanese, the names of the officers who subscribed the letter, &c. At the bottom of the paper were some words which intimated that the Japanese wished us to fill up the other columns with the meaning of each word in English, French and Dutch. This paper, we



were told, had been sent from the capital, but by whom the words were collected, we were not informed. It was supposed that a Japanese who understood Dutch, had drawn it up. On observing the artifice, we also thought it prudent to dissemble; we pretended to have no idea whence these words had originated, and that we could extract no meaning from them, particularly as many of them were not Russian. We observed among the words some that commenced with a C (the Russian S) in which an E was written instead of that letter.

From the form of the character we concluded that some European had written the manuscript\* who, however, did not understand Russian, as besides the above mentioned blunder, all the words were left in the same number and case as they stood in the letter, and, in some instances, N was changed into R. We, however, positively refused to comply with the request of the Japanese. We declared we had reason to believe, if we did write the words in the different languages required, that the Dutch interpreters, who were hostile to the Russians, would give them a meaning favourable to their own views. As proof that we had ground

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\* Some time after Teske owned to us that a Dutchman, named Laxman, had written the words. This man, in consequence of receiving a large sum of money, had agreed never to return to his own country. He lived in Yeddo, the Japanese capital, and was employed in making astronomical observations and in preparing charts.

for this suspicion, we cited the acknowledgement of the Dutch themselves, that they had greatly contributed to the dispute between Resanoff and the Japanese ; at the same time we offered to give a translation of any document, but would not explain detached words. The Japanese immediately asked how the Dutch Interpreters could know of any contention between them and Resanoff? We then gave them an account of a letter found by an English ship on board of a Dutch prize, in which the Dutch boasted of having succeeded in imbuing the Japanese with an irreconcilable hatred towards the Russians, and stating that our embassy had been dismissed with such an answer as would put an end to all farther desire on the part of Russia for communicating with Japan \*. On their asking

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\* When the *Diana* lay in Portsmouth, we formed acquaintance with a prize agent of the name of Brown. On its being accidentally mentioned in the course of conversation, by Lieutenant Rikord, that Resanoff was dead, Mr. Brown observed, that it was as well he was gone, as the recollection of his having been so simple as to allow himself to be out-witted by the Dutch, must have vexed him not a little. On Lieutenant Rikord asking him to explain himself more particularly, Mr. Brown made a statement to the following purport :—A Dutch ship, bound from Batavia to Amsterdam, having been taken and brought into Portsmouth, her papers were, as usual, delivered to him. Among them he found a letter from the secretary of the council at Batavia to the Dutch government, in which, after describing the situation of the Dutch in Nangasaky, and the proceedings of Resanoff's embassy, the writer stated that their interpreters had succeeded in turning every thing to the advantage of the Dutch, and had given the Japanese

why we had not sooner informed them of this circumstance, we answered that we doubted whether what we stated would be credited; and, besides, that we had no idea of the Dutch having interfered in any way in our affair; since, however, it now appeared, that some reference must have been made to them on the subject, it was our wish not to afford them an opportunity of injuring us a second time. We then related some anecdotes of the conduct of the Dutch East and West India Companies, which afforded instances of the disregard of every principle of rectitude that stood in the way of the advantageous prosecution of commercial interests; and, for the truth of all that we stated, we appealed to an English work which was among the books that had been sent to us, and which detailed the transactions of those companies, in colours calculated to excite the strongest hatred and contempt of such rapacious traders. The Japanese now ceased to call upon us for the French, Dutch, and English words; but requested that we would explain to them clearly the meaning of each of the words in

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such an idea of Russia, that they had dismissed Resaouff with an answer which would make the Russians think no more of sending ships to Japan. On our arrival at Kamtschatka, I made a report on this circumstance to the government, a copy of which I also communicated to the commissioner of the Russian American Company, in order that he might give information of this discovery to the directors.

the first column, in order that they might fill up the blank columns with Japanese words of the same purport. This we could not refuse ; and after the conclusion of the labour, which lasted several days, and gave both us and the Japanese interpreters much trouble, we had to set about a translation of Chwostoff's paper, executed in the same manner.

Meanwhile we learned that the officer, who was to proceed to the capital, with a report of our case, was ready to set out on his journey, and that the Bunyo wished, at the same time, to send some of our books to the Emperor. We were told, however, that it was intended we should be allowed the use of our books, as a consolation during the tedious hours of our confinement ; and were, therefore, desired to pick out such as we wished to retain. The interpreter actually brought us the chest with the books, and we laid some aside in the hope that we should be allowed to keep them ; but how were we deceived ! The Japanese marked those we had selected, and packed them separately from the others ; and, finally, carried off the chest without leaving us a single book.

Whilst we were looking over the books, a circumstance occurred which embarrassed us not a little. Kumaddsehero, in turning over the leaves of one of the volumes, found a piece of red paper, upon which were some Japanese words. It was one of the tickets which in Japan are usually

attached to goods. I recollected that it had been given to me by one of our officers in Kamtschatka. Kumaddscherro read the ticket, and asked where it had come from, and how it had got into my book? I said it was perhaps Chinese; but I had got it accidentally in Kamtschatka, and had put it into my book as a mark. Yes, yes, replied he, it is Chinese, and put it again into the place in the book from which he had taken it. I was afraid lest this would occasion new investigations, and be taken by the Japanese as a proof of our having participated in Chwostoff's depredations. It was, indeed, most singular, that such a multitude of circumstances, though some of them were totally insignificant and unworthy of observation in any other case, should conspire to make this jealous, timid and mistrustful people regard us as implicated in that unfortunate affair. I had accidentally been reading when this bit of paper was brought to me, and being in want of a mark at the moment, I used it for that purpose; and, by another accident, this book was put into one of the seven or eight chests which our shipmates had sent on shore to us. We often remarked among ourselves, that the writer of a romance could, with difficulty, surround his hero with as many unlucky events as those in which fate had actually involved us; and, jesting with Mr. Moor, who was young and handsome, we used to advise him to try to win the affections of some distinguished Japanese lady,

through whose aid we might be enabled to escape. Our adventures would then have been truly romantic—unfortunately we wanted a heroine to complete our story.

Before the departure of the officer for the capital, we were conducted into the presence of the Bunyo. He wished that we should shew him how the Europeans wore hats and swords, and for this purpose a hat and sword were brought to us. Their curiosity went so far, that they inquired what was denoted by officers wearing their hats sometimes length-ways, and sometimes cross-ways; and were surprised, when we informed them that they might, on the parade, wear their hats as they pleased; and that no distinction of rank was denoted thereby. They also asked how the sailors wore their hats\*. The Governor then said,

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\* When we were seized at Kunashier, our sailors' hats accidentally fell off, and the Japanese cut them in several places with their swords. When we were imprisoned in the cages at Matsmai, they wished the sailors to sew their hats. The latter, however, declared that that was impossible, without needles and scissars, that it was besides a difficult task, and the Japanese might undertake it themselves. They, however, insisted on the sailors doing what they required, and at length resolved to trust them with needles and scissars. The Japanese could, indeed, have done it much better than our sailors, as they are extremely neat in the execution of needle work; but they probably wished to make it appear that the sailors had cut the hats themselves, as they might otherwise have been called to account for the valour which they had thus thought proper to exercise. We afterwards had frequent opportunities of observing the cunning and dissimulation of the Japanese in affairs of this sort.

that it would be interesting to the inhabitants of the capital to be enabled to form a notion of the tall stature of the Russians, and therefore wished to have us measured \*, which we immediately agreed to. But the curiosity of the Japanese was not yet satisfied. They wished to have our portraits taken in full length ; and Teske, who knew how to draw, was appointed to execute them. He drew them in India ink, but in such a style, that each portrait would have passed for that of any other individual, as well as of him it was intended for ; except the long beard, we could trace no resemblance in them. The Japanese, however, sent them to the capital, where they were probably hung up in some of their galleries of pictures.

Two days before his departure, the officer † came to our prison, as he said, for the purpose of taking leave of us, and of observing how we lived, in order that he might communicate some infor-

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\* In Europe the two officers and myself would have been looked upon as men of the middle stature ; but we were giants among the Japanese. What then must they have thought of our sailors, who would have made no bad appearance even in the imperial guard.

† We had never before been visited by an officer of such high rank, (this rank was styled Ginmiyagu). He was one of the five counsellors of the governor of Matsmai. Two of these counsellors are allowed to reside, by way of relaxation, in the capital ; two live with the governor, and the other has the command of Chakodade. They are appointed to fill the latter office in rotation, and exchange annually with those who reside in the capital.

mation to the government on this particular. He assured us that he would do all in his power to bring our affair to a happy issue, and took his leave, after having wished us good health. At the end of December he departed from Matsmai, taking along with him the commander of Kunashier, his deputy, the officer who had given us the letter at Eetooroop, and the Kurile interpreter who had served us in our communications with the Japanese on that island.

After his departure we hoped we should be allowed some rest, but our expectations were quickly disappointed. The more progress Teske made in his knowledge of the Russian language, the more trouble he gave us: he was, however, a kind and generous hearted creature. He frequently informed us of things at which Kumaddschero had never hinted; and the latter frequently checked him when he thought he was too unreserved in his communications\*. Teske was evidently more attached to us than any other Japanese. He seldom visited us without bringing along with him, as a present, something which he considered a dainty; and we had to thank him for many of the favours we experienced from the Governor. We now learnt that Teske filled the

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\* Teske was once going to relate to us something respecting Laxman, the Dutchman, who resided at the capital; Kumaddschero, however, muttered a few words between his teeth, and Teske was immediately silent.



office of secretary to the Governor, with whom he stood in high favour, and that he exerted all his influence to our advantage, though we frequently quarrelled together. Our disputes were chiefly occasioned by his unbounded curiosity which proved extremely troublesome.

We now thought ourselves fairly rid of all our translations; but the Japanese adhered to their grand maxim:—that nothing should be done at once, but every thing gradually. Teske and Kumaddschero brought to us the following inscription on Japanese paper; “ the Russian frigate Juno visited this place, and named this village, the Village of Doubt.” We were informed that Chwostoff had left such an inscription on a copper-plate, in a pagoda in one of the Japanese villages. They wished that we should explain its meaning. Here we had new difficulties to encounter. How were we to translate this name, Village of Doubt, and why was the place so called? When we succeeded in explaining the word Doubt to the Japanese, they themselves doubted whether they had not misunderstood our meaning, as they supposed it impossible that in such a case the word could have been so applied. We, on our part, were equally unable to form any notion of the sense in which Chwostoff had used this phrase. When we assured them, that no Russian could explain the meaning of the writer of the inscription, they suspected that we wished to deceive them, and to

concealsomething which might tend to our own disadvantage. This business occupied us several days. They then wished us to translate an epitaph which the pilot, Lovzoff, had cut upon the trunk of a tree at Nemuro, under which a sailor had been buried, who died of the scurvy during the time that Laxman wintered in that place. This task, however, was completed in an hour ; for the Japanese had, doubtlessly, been informed of the meaning of this inscription by Laxman himself, and were satisfied on finding that our explanation corresponded with his.

The Japanese kept us constantly employed in translating, with the view of making themselves acquainted with the Russian language, but still more out of curiosity and distrust. They brought to us, for example, a copy of the communication which Resanoff had delivered to the Japanese from our Emperor. Of the title, in which the Emperor of Japan was mentioned, they could understand only the words, “ of Nippon ;” they assured us, that their Emperor had never borne such a title, and were unable to divine what had induced the Russians to make use of it.

When we made inquiries respecting his real title, they told us it was extremely long and difficult to remember. In the same manner they concealed from us their Emperor’s name. They did not, indeed, exactly refuse to make us acquainted ~~with~~ it ; but every individual, to whom we ad-

dressed ourselves for information on this point, gave us a different answer, so that we could never learn his real name. We, however, understood, that, according to the Japanese laws, no subject could bear the name of the reigning emperor\*, and that every individual, who may happen to have the same name as the hereditary prince, is obliged to adopt a new one on his ascending the throne. In the document, mention was made of all the presents which had been sent from the Russian court to the Emperor of Japan. We had learnt from Captain Krusenstern's Narrative that all these things had been exhibited to the Japanese,

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\* The Japanese have both family names and proper names; but the former are always placed before the latter. For instance, *Wechara* is a family name, and *Kumaddscheru* a proper name; yet our interpreter was called *Wechara-Kumaddscheru*.—In familiar conversation both names are seldom mentioned; and, in the same way as in confidential discourse, only one name is used when they address any individual to whom they wish to shew particular respect. In the latter case, however, they make use of the word *Sama*, which is equivalent to the title Mr., and place it either after the family name or proper name; as, *WECHARA Sama*, *TESKE Sama*, &c. The Japanese likewise attach other meanings to this word *Sama*. It corresponds with our words Lord, God, ruler, and master; for example, *TENTO-SAMA* signifies the Lord in Heaven; *KUMBO-SAMA*, the Japanese political Emperor; (*Kumbo* is the name of the present reigning family.) *KIN-RAI-SAMA* is the Japanese spiritual Emperor; for *Kin-Rai* is his family name; and *OBUNJO-SAMA* is Lord Governor. *Sama*, however, is not attached to any other titles, they never say *GINMIYAGU-SAMA*, &c. I must likewise observe, that this word is pronounced in the same way in all the above cases, although the spelling varies in each.

and yet our interpreter asked us to give him a description of them. We afterwards found that they had in their possession a minute description of these articles, which not merely pointed out the size and use of each, but likewise mentioned the time and place at which they had been manufactured. They shewed us this description, from which they translated several passages. The cunning of the Japanese is truly astonishing ! When they wish to discover any thing, they put their questions in such a way as would induce a belief that they entertain not the slightest notion of it, and have heard it mentioned for the first time in their lives ; if, on the contrary, they fancy they possess sufficient information on any subject, they never pretend ignorance, but frankly acknowledge all they know respecting it.

In addition to the Russian papers, of which the Japanese wished to have translations, Teske and Kumaddscherö brought to us a number of other things, and some translations of European books, of which they requested us to state our opinion ; they, however, shewed themselves most anxious for the translations, and our communication with them on those subjects afforded us many opportunities of remarking their distrustful disposition. Among other things, they shewed us a Chinese painting, representing the city of Canton, where flags were flying on the factories of different European nations, and they asked us how it

happened that the Russian flag was not there? We told them the reason of this, and they then inquired why we had intended to enter a harbour in which there were no Russian merchants? They were not a little astonished, and would scarcely credit what we said when we told them that, in such cases, the people of Europe were accustomed to assist each other to whatever nation they might happen to belong. Teske, besides, shewed us the drawing of a brass eighteen pounder, which had been cast in Holland. He made a great parade about it, and told us that the Japanese had taken it along with many other pieces of canon, after a great victory which they had gained during their last war with the Coreans, about two hundred years ago. We, however, perceived, from a Latin inscription, that it had been cast scarcely a century ago, for the Dutch East India Company; but that we might not put Teske to the blush, we expressed much astonishment at the exemplary valour of the Japanese. He, besides, shewed us a drawing of the *Nadeschda*, in which Resanoff had sailed to Nangasaky, and inquired what was meant by the flag at the stern of that vessel, and other European flags, which Captain Krusenstern had probably hoisted for the purpose of ornamenting his ship. But we were most of all astonished on seeing some charts, which had been executed by the Japanese, whom Resanoff brought with him from Petersburg, and which described the course of the

vessel. On these maps were marked Denmark, England, the Canary Islands, Brazil, Cape Horn, the Marquesas Islands, Kamtschatka, and Japan ; in a word, every sea through which they had sailed, and every coast they had visited. The distances and situations of places were, it is true, quite inaccurate ; but when it is considered that these men were, probably, only common sailors ; that they executed these charts from recollection, and that the situation of the sun was their only guide, in determining in what quarter of the world they were sailing, this inaccuracy is no proof against the general capability of the Japanese.

Teske informed us that a number of Japanese translations of European books had been sent from the capital, in order that we might examine them, and pronounce our opinion of them : he added, that, as nothing had yet been decided in our favour, the Governor did not wish to distress us, but merely requested that we would compare three of these translations, and that the rest might remain until he received orders for our liberation, in case we should then have time to inspect them. The following are the titles of the three books which Teske named.

Benyowsky's conspiracy and escape from Kamtschatka.—An account of the expedition of the Russians and English to Holland in the year 1799.—Geography of the Russian empire.

Teske paid but little attention to the two first

mentioned books, but he read the last from beginning to end. We constantly found it necessary to make observations and contradictions on this work, which was a description of Russia, at a period in which the country was in a very rude state ; and though the remarks it contained were for the most part correct, yet they related to our ancestors, and not to us. The Japanese, who adhere to their old laws and customs with a most extraordinary pertinacity, were unable to conceive how a whole nation could have undergone so great a change in such a short period.

Our religion was likewise a subject which excited the curiosity of the Japanese. Teske requested, in the name of the Governor, that we would make him acquainted with the doctrine of our faith, and on what it was founded. As a reason for making this solicitation, he said, that the Governor of Nangasaky, the place which is visited by the Dutch, was very well acquainted with their religion, and it would be very discreditable to the Governor of Matsmai to return to the capital without being able to state any particulars respecting ours.

We were very willing to communicate to them the moral tenets of the Christian religion, the ten commandments, and to give them some notion of the Evangelists ; but this was not what the Japanese wanted. They told us, that these principles were not peculiar to Christians, but that they were

common to all individuals who had good hearts\* ; and that the Japanese themselves had long been familiar with them. They most particularly wished to be made acquainted with our form of worship, as their countrymen who had been in Russia, had frequently visited our churches, and had written down all the observations they made respecting the liturgy. They asked us why the priests several times opened and shut a door, and what was contained in the goblets which they brought out, &c. But these were circumstances, which with the limited means we possessed of making ourselves understood, we found it impossible to explain. We, therefore, observed, that in order to make them acquainted with the secrets of our faith, it was necessary either that we should speak Japanese perfectly well, or they understand Russian better ; and, that since both parties were deficient in these requisites, we dared not undertake to communicate with them on matters of such importance ; since they might probably imbibe false notions of our religion, and even be led to regard as ridiculous things which are sacred. But we did not thus get rid of the importunity of the Japanese. They continually repeated their questions concerning our mode of worship ; and we were, at length,

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\* According to the Japanese idiom, *white hearts*. They call an individual of bad character a man with a *black heart*.



compelled positively to declare, that we would not converse on these matters until we were fully competent to understand each other.

Even Alexei was not left unemployed. The Japanese endeavoured to extract information from him respecting the Kurile Islands, of which they made him draw up maps in the best way he could. Alexei blotted abundance of paper, and furnished ample contributions for the geographical depots of the Japanese. To account for their applications, they said, that their laws required that they should seek information from all foreigners who visited them, and observe and write down every thing, whether true or false, which they might be told. They alleged, that, by comparing the different accounts they thus received, they were enabled to separate truth from fiction, and to derive much advantage from this practice.

When we inquired whether any news that concerned us had arrived from the capital, the interpreters usually replied, that they did not know ; sometimes, however, they assured us that the investigation of our case was going on well, and that we had reason to expect a favourable issue. In January, Teske, and afterwards Kumaddschero, told us as a secret, that the Bunyo had received orders to remove us to a convenient house, and to render our situation altogether more comfortable ; and that this change would take place on the Japa-

these new-year's day\*. We had previously received the same information from our guards; but as they had often made statements which never were realized, we supposed that this was only a new invention with which they wished to console us. We, however, believed the interpreters, and rejoiced not at the idea of the improved accommodation which was promised us, but at the ray of hope of being permitted to return to our country, which such a change of system afforded. We, therefore, looked forward to the month of February with the greatest impatience.

The Bunyo wished to present us with new clothes on the approach of the new year. He, therefore, ordered that some questions should be put to us respecting the colours and materials, and also the form in which we might wish them to be made. We thanked him for his attention, but wished to decline his offer, as we had already a superfluity of clothes, and needed no addition to our wardrobe while in prison. He, however, persisted, and the interpreter took away Mr. Chlebnikoff's uniform coat for a pattern. After some days had elapsed, new clothes were brought to us. Those intended for the officers were made of taf-

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\* At this time the Japanese new year commenced on the 1st of February. As they reckon by lunar years, but supply the difference between the lunar and solar reckoning, by adding a thirteenth month to each year of the proper number for that intercalation, their new year's day corresponds every nineteen years with the solar new year.

fetas, with linings of the same, and wadded ; but the dress provided for me was of a green colour, while that given to Mr. Chlebnikoff and Mr. Moor, was brown\*. The sailors received wadded cotton clothes of a grey colour. The Japanese could not imitate the fashion of our uniforms. They perceived themselves the want of resemblance, and expressed astonishment at the skill of the European tailors.

It became the practice, after the alterations had been made in our prison, for the guards to be constantly beside us ; they sat down with us at the fire, smoked tobacco and chatted. They were, in general, extremely friendly, giving us comfits, fine tea, and other delicacies ; but all this was privately, as they were prohibited from making us any presents without the permission of their officers. One of these men, who spoke the Kurile tongue, told us, as a secret, that the pelt-hunters who ran away from Chwostoff, on the Island of

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\* Messrs. Moor and Chlebnikoff often wore the clothes which the Japanese provided for us ; but I always appeared in my frieze jacket and pantaloons. The Bunyo asked me, why I did not wear the articles which the Japanese had furnished, and supposed, that because I was the commander I wished to be dressed differently from the inferior officers. I smiled at this idea, and observed, that in Russia, the colour and materials of our dress were the same, as he might see by inspecting our uniforms, in which the only distinctions to be found consisted in marks, which denoted our respective ranks. It is probable, however, that he still retained his opinion, as he, on this occasion, ordered my dress to be made of a different colour from the rest.

Ectooroop, had, after the departure of the ship, been found drunk on the shore, and killed by the Kuriles. The Japanese Government was very much displeased with this, for though, perhaps, they would have ordered them to be executed, they believed their premature death had deprived them of much important information, which might, perhaps, long since, have brought about a reconciliation between Russia and Japan. We learned, likewise, that an Aleute, named Jacoff, had escaped from Chwostoff, at Sagaleen, and had died there, some time since, of the scurvy. His statements were calculated to contribute not a little to our justification ; for he maintained that the Company's ships had attacked the Japanese without any superior authority ; declaring that he was assured of this by all the Russians who were on board of those vessels. His hatred of Chwostoff was carried so far, that he painted him in the blackest colours, and had requested the Japanese officers to furnish him with a musket, in order that he might lie in wait for the Russian commander, and shoot him when he came on shore, in revenge for the injuries he had received from him. The cause of this violent hatred was his having, on one occasion, been flogged for drunkenness, by order of Chwostoff. According to Alexei's representation, the Japanese themselves, and not the Kuriles, had killed the pelt-hunters ; the latter certainly would not have committed that atrocity of their own

accord. As a proof of his statement, he related the following story, which, though certainly deciding nothing for the truth of his asseveration, deserves, on other grounds, to be mentioned here.

The Japanese had for several years carried on war against the Kuriles, inhabiting the mountains in the northern parts of Matsmai ; and, unable to subdue them by force, resolved to obtain their object by artifice and treachery. They accordingly made proposals of peace, which the Kuriles accepted with the greatest joy ; and it was agreed between the parties that the treaty should be publicly celebrated. The Japanese built, for that purpose, a large house, and, to an entertainment given in it, forty of the Kurile chiefs, and a number of their bravest warriors, were invited. The Kuriles, who are fond of ardent liquors, were easily prevailed upon by their new friends to drink deeply ; the Japanese, on their part, feigned intoxication, and gradually withdrew. When they were all out of the house, the doors were closed, and the Japanese murdered their guests, by shooting them with arrows through apertures which had been prepared for that purpose in the walls. They then cut off the heads of the Kuriles, salted them, and sent them to the capital as trophies of victory.

This was a relation which could not have failed to excite horror in men at perfect liberty ; what feelings, then, was it not calculated to rouse

in us, who were actually in the power of a people capable of perpetrating so perfidious and atrocious a deed? Poor Alexei excused himself for not having given us this information before, by saying, that he was afraid it would render us uneasy; he added, that he could describe several similar transactions of the Japanese, but that he saw this first relation had not particularly gratified us. We smiled at his simplicity, and observed, that as he had already told us the worst, we wished to hear the rest merely to satisfy our curiosity. Alexei, however, did not rightly comprehend us, and retained his idea that his narrative had displeased us.

Meanwhile February arrived, and the Japanese new year commenced, but we heard not a word of the promised house. We supposed that the Japanese, who were busy keeping their holidays, could not find time to think on us, and therefore did not expect the fulfilment of their promise before the middle of the month\*; our expectation,

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\* The Japanese occupy an entire month in celebrating the new year; though the period of the festival, strictly speaking, is only from the new to the full moon, or a fortnight. During this period the courts are closed; all labour and business suspended, and nothing except visiting and feasting is thought of; but in the remaining half of the month the more industrious resume their occupations. The new year is the principal festival in the calendar of the Japanese. They, therefore, make extraordinary preparations at its approach, and procure new clothes for it, as we do at Easter. Custom requires that each person should visit all his acquaintances in the place in which he resides, and send letters of congratulation to those which are at a distance. Our interpreters and guards were accordingly employed for some days previous to the festival in

however, was not only deceived, but our situation was rendered worse than it had been. We were supplied with nothing but rice and salted fish for our meals. During the first five or six days of the festival, neither the interpreters nor any officer visited us. When we saw the former, we reproached them with having deceived us. Kumaddscheru assured me, that the reason we had not been removed to the house was, that the fish at that season approached the coast, and that all the inhabitants were, from morning till night, so busily engaged in the fishery, that no men could be found to clear away the snow, which had nearly buried up to the roof of the house allotted for us, as it had been all the winter unoccupied. This excuse was truly laughable, for it was difficult to believe that in a town, the population of which amounted to 50,000, men could not be found to do this work. It now appeared to us absolutely certain, that the Japanese practised deception for the purpose of tranquilizing us and gradually reconciling us to our fate. We spoke our minds frankly on this subject to the

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writing letters of that kind and visiting cards. On the latter, the names of the person from whom the card comes, and to whom it is delivered are written, and also the opportunity by which it is presented is described. Teske translated for us one of his congratulatory letters. It was addressed to the officer at Kunashier, by whom we were entrapped, and was to the following effect:—"Last year you were happy, and I much wish that in this new year you may also enjoy good health, and experience happiness and prosperity in every undertaking; I still respect you as formerly, and request that you will not forget me.—Teske."

interpreters ; but they laughed and assured us that we were labouring under a mistake. While this uncertainty prevailed respecting the house, the Bunyo took the opportunity of conferring upon us two favours ; he sent us some of our books to read, and razors that we might shave ourselves. Our beards were very long, and their growth was at first exceedingly disagreeable, but we were now accustomed to the inconvenience ; and Mr. Chlebnikoff and I refused to avail ourselves of the permission to shave, especially as it was required we should perform the operation in the presence of an officer and other guards, lest we should commit suicide. The Japanese at first left it to us to shave or not as we pleased, but when they found that Mr. Chlebnikoff and I did not use the razors, they intimated a disposition to compel us, telling us that the Bunyo wished to see us without our beards. We replied, that it was the Bunyo's duty to do us justice, and that for that purpose it must be different to him whether we appeared before him with or without beards.

At last we learned from the interpreters, that our case did not stand in the most favourable situation in the capital. Teske told us that all the officers in Matsmai, and even all the inhabitants of that town were convinced of the truth of our declarations, but the members of the supreme government were not of the same opinion, and believed that the interpreter Kumaddscherö did not



sufficiently understand Russian to give a correct translation of our answers and our memorial, particularly as his version of the latter was in several passages totally unintelligible. We asked Teske what he thought the government intended to do with us? He answered that it was not exactly known, as nothing was yet decided on; many, however, were of opinion that we would be set at liberty. We plainly perceived that it was his wish to save us from complete despair, but his assurances afforded us little consolation. In a consultation, we all concurred in opinion, that there was no hope of our being set at liberty by the Japanese; flight, therefore, was the only means of deliverance. But Mr. Moor, and the two sailors, Simanoff and Wassiljeff, would by no means consent to adopt this desperate course, though Mr. Chlebnikoff and I did all we could to persuade them to it. We explained to them that it was not impossible to escape from the place of our confinement, to make ourselves masters of a vessel on the sea-shore, and then, with the help of Heaven, to proceed either to Kamtschatka or the coast of Tartary, as circumstances might render necessary. We represented that, instead of lingering and wasting away our lives in prison, it would be far more glorious to die in the sea, the element to which we had consecrated our lives, and in which, every year, so many of our brother sailors were buried. We allowed the undertaking to be difficult, but not totally desperate.

and impracticable ; since storms and waves had repeatedly driven Japanese vessels to the Russian coasts, why, we asked, might we not hope to reach the point to which we should be steering ? But all our arguments and representations were in vain. Mr. Moor absolutely refused to enter into our design, and together with the two sailors, turned a deaf ear to all our persuasions. In the hope, however, that they might one day or other be induced to undertake the execution of this project, we began to collect a store of provisions. Unperceived by our guards, we daily laid by a portion of our boiled rice ; and, during the night, when it had become dry, deposited it in small bags.

Meanwhile the spring season commenced. The day became longer, and the cold, which gradually diminished, was superseded by the genial rays of the sun. At the commencement of March, we were, by order of the Bunyo, frequently permitted to walk in the yard. On the 4th of that month, Teske informed us that it would be much better were we permitted to go to the capital, where we might have an opportunity of convincing the members of the government of the truth of our memorial, and of interceding for our liberation, as it was very doubtful whether that object would be attained without our personal appearance there. He added, that every individual in the capital entertained the conviction, that Chwostoff had acted by command of the Russian Government,

and that our sole object in visiting them was to inspect their harbours, with the view of afterwards overwhelming them with a greater force.

We, besides, learned from Teske another circumstance which was of the utmost importance to us. He told us that Chwostoff, during his first attack, had carried off some Japanese whom he detained at Kamtschatka during the winter. In the following year, however, he landed them on the Island of Lissel (Pic de Langle), giving them a paper addressed to the Governor of Matsmai, which would be shewn to us in course of time. Teske either could not, or would not, inform us by whom this paper was signed; but as the Japanese had already, as we believed, shewn us every bit of paper on which any Russian words were written—even the prayers distributed by the Kuviles—and had anxiously required translations, and yet had made no mention of this paper, it appeared to us that it must be a declaration of war, or some other important document of Chwostoff. It seemed to us highly probable that Teske was acquainted with the contents of this paper, and that the Japanese concealed it from us, under the supposition that they could, in the end, fully convict us of deception. What then could we urge in our justification? Teske had no sooner quitted us, than Mr. Moor declared that he perceived plainly all the horrors of our situation, and was ready to attempt his escape along with us; and Sima-

noff and Wassiljeff expressed the same determination.

One thing only remained doubtful, whether it would be prudent to trust Alexei with our secret, and persuade him to escape along with us, or whether we should leave him behind. We feared to make him acquainted with our design, lest he might betray us ; and, on the other hand, we were distressed at the idea of abandoning him, to endure the hard punishment which the Japanese would not fail to inflict upon him. We at first resolved to leave a letter, addressed to the Governor, assuring him of Alexei's innocence. Mr. Moor, however, advised us to make him acquainted with our plan, and to take him along with us, as we might find him extremely useful, owing to his knowledge of the various roots and herbs which were fit to eat ; and his experience in navigating the waters of that part of the world. We accordingly unfolded our design to him. He at first testified the utmost amazement, changed colour, and was unable to utter a syllable. He, however, quickly recovered himself, declared that he was as good a Russian as any one of us, that he acknowledged the same God and Emperor, that whether we were right or wrong, he was ready to escape along with us, and though we might be swallowed up by the waves, or put to death by the Japanese, he would share every misfortune we might encounter. We were not a little\* astonished at Alexei's resolu-

tion and firmness, and we now began to deliberate on the means of carrying our design into execution.

There were two ways by which we might succeed in escaping from our confinement. Two of the soldiers, who were set to guard us, usually sat sound asleep by the fire until midnight, and some of the rest were so addicted to drinking strong liquors, that they frequently came to us in a state of intoxication, when they supposed there was no danger of their being detected by their superiors. During the night, and taking advantage of a favourable wind, it would be easy suddenly to seize our guards and bind and gag them to prevent their giving any alarm. We might then gain possession of their sabres, and climbing over the fence into the hollow, we might cautiously reach the sea-shore, and there endeavour to make ourselves masters of a vessel, in which we might sail to the coast of Tartary. This project, however, appeared impracticable, and we accordingly laid down another plan. At midnight our guards, having closed our doors, were accustomed to retire to the guard-room, where they generally fell asleep, without thinking it necessary to watch us with that degree of rigour which they had at first observed. At the further corner of their guard-room was a small door, which was kept fast locked and sealed ; but as we had in our possession a large sharp knife, we might cut

through the beam to which the hinges were affixed, and having effected our escape from the guard-room, we might soon cross the fence, or wooden wall, by means of a ship-ladder which we had made out of a sail-cloth hammock \*. That we might not be totally unarmed, we intended, before the execution of our enterprise, to make some pikes out of the long poles, on which our linen was hung to dry after it had been washed.

We waited with impatience for the first favourable night to attempt the execution of our plan. At length, on the 8th of March, the wind began to blow from the east, accompanied by fogs and rain †, and we were persuaded that if it continued without change for a few days, we might reach the Tartar coast, in case we succeeded in gaining possession of a vessel. At the approach of twilight we began secretly to make preparations unperceived by our guards; but night had no sooner set in, than the clouds dispersed, the stars began to twinkle, and the wind changed to the west. We were thus compelled to postpone our attempt.

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\* When we were seized at Kunaschier, a seaman's hammock happened to lie under a sail in our boat. We afterwards requested the Japanese to give us the sail instead of a coverlet; but this they refused to do. Whilst we were in Chakodade, however, they gave one of the sailors this hammock, which we converted into a ladder.

† In these parts, fogs are the never-failing attendants of an easterly wind.

Two days after, the wind again blew in a favourable direction, and the weather was as fine as we could have wished it to be. Mr. Chlebnikoff expressed a hope that on the following night, with the help of Heaven, we should attempt the execution of our plan, when to our great astonishment and vexation, Mr. Moor replied, that he would neither dissuade us from our purpose, nor do any thing to prevent our carrying it into effect; but that, for his own part, he was resolved to submit to the destiny which awaited him, and never to make any attempt towards effecting his own liberation. We endeavoured to prevail on him to resume his former determination, and conjured him to reflect on the inconsistency of his conduct: but all our representations were of no avail. He replied, with ill-humour and warmth, that he was no child, and knew very well how to act, that he would place no obstacle in the way of our escape, which we might effect without him, and desired us never more to mention the business in his hearing, since all our arguments and persuasions would be to no purpose.

From that moment a complete change took place in the behaviour of Mr. Moor. He avoided entering into conversation with us, and when we spoke to him he would answer us briefly, and sometimes even with rudeness; though, to the Japanese, he adopted quite an opposite mode of conduct. He began to imitate their customs: he

no longer addressed the officers in the European way, as he before used to do, but spoke to them as if they had been his superiors, and even treated them with a degree of awe and veneration which excited the amazement and laughter of the Japanese themselves.

In this critical situation I scarcely knew how to act. I, however, determined on requiring that Mr. Moor should promise, on oath, not to make known our escape until the morning after it should have taken place ; and that in return we would leave behind us a letter to the Governor, and would pledge ourselves, in case of our being taken, to declare that Mr. Moor had no knowledge of our enterprise. The sailors, however, were of opinion that no reliance could be placed on Mr. Moor's assurances. In support of their assertion they related so many things respecting this officer, that I was at length convinced it would be unsafe to trust him in these important circumstances. The interpreter having assured us that, when the warm weather set in, we should be permitted to walk about the city, escorted by a party of Japanese, we resolved to delay the execution of our enterprise, in the hope that we might likewise be conducted to the out-skirts of the city, where we might find an opportunity of effecting our liberation by force. We should then have had no reason to fear Mr. Moor. He had not hitherto manifested any intention of discovering our design to the Japanese ; we



therefore pretended that we had, like him, relinquished every thought of escaping, and had come to the determination of patiently awaiting the fate which destiny had allotted for us; he did not, however, change his suspicious conduct.

In the meanwhile we formed an acquaintance with a geometrician and astronomer, named MAMIA-RINSO, who had been sent from the Japanese capital. The first time he came to visit us, he was accompanied by our interpreter, who informed us that he had shortly before quitted Yeddo, from whence the government, by the advice of a physician, who was skilled in the European practice, had sent us some medicines to prevent the scurvy, a disorder which is extremely frequent and dangerous in Japan. These medicines consisted of two flasks of lemon-juice, a number of lemons and oranges, and a considerable quantity of dried herbs, of very fragrant smell, and which, according to the directions of the Japanese, we sprinkled in our soup. The Bunyo, besides, took this opportunity of sending us three or four pounds of brown sugar, and a box full of red pepper in husks, boiled in sugar, of which the Japanese are very fond \*. But we quickly discovered that these presents were intended to persuade, or rather to force us to communicate to the

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\* The Bunyo had before frequently sent us presents of sugar, pepper, and such articles.

Japanese geometrician our methods of taking nautical and astronomical observations. To this end he was continually making solicitations. He shewed us his instruments, which consisted of an English sector, and astrolabe, with a compass, a case of mathematical instruments, and quicksilver for forming the artificial horizon, and requested that we would shew him how the Europeans employed these things. He visited us every day, and frequently remained with us from morning until evening, during which time he gave us an account of his travels, and produced his plans and sketches of the different countries he had visited. We inspected them with the greatest curiosity. The Japanese looked upon him as a very learned man. They always listened to him with the utmost attention, and wondered how he could have travelled to so many different places ; he had visited all the Kurile Islands, as far as the seventeenth, Sagaleen, and even the land of Mandshuren, and had sailed through the river Amur. He manifested his pride, however, by a constant boasting of the deeds he had performed, and the labours he had endured. In recounting his adventures he shewed us his travelling pan, in which he cooked his food during his journies. He daily stewed or boiled something on our fire, and treated us with it. He had a small still with which he made spirits from rice, and which was kept constantly going. He drank freely of the

liquor himself, and shared it as readily with us, to the no little satisfaction of our sailors. He could ascertain the sun's height, from the natural or artificial horizon, with his sector, and knew how to find the latitude of a place by observing the sun's altitude at noon. In his calculations he used some tables of declination, and other helps of that kind, which he said had been translated into Japanese from a Dutch book. As we had none of our tables in our possession, we could not well decide on the accuracy of those he employed.

Mamia-Rinso communicated to us several pieces of interesting information, the authenticity of which we verified by a comparison with the statements made by other Japanese, and an account of which cannot be indifferent to our Government. I shall take another occasion of mentioning these communications.

Soon after our first acquaintance with this man, we learned that he was not only celebrated among the Japanese for his learning, but was regarded as a most distinguished warrior. He was in the Island of Ectooroop at the time that Chwostoff landed, and fled with some other soldiers to the mountains. He was, however, hit by a Russian ball, and received a flesh wound, from the effects of which he soon recovered. It was a fortunate wound for him, since it was the means of procuring him promotion and a pension. He declared, that after Chwostoff's attack, the Japanese had it in

contemplation to send three ships to Okotzk, in order to raze that place to the ground. We used to laugh at this boast, observing, that we were sorry the Japanese had not sent thither thirty, or even three hundred ships instead of three, as we were certain none of them would ever have got back. He, on his part, appeared offended at this observation, and asserted that the Japanese were not inferior in war to other nations. I must here remark, that this was the first Japanese who ventured, in our presence, to swagger and assume importance on account of his military skill, and his vapouring made not only us but even his own countrymen sometimes laugh at him. He had heard, that besides ascertaining the latitude by the sun's altitude, the longitude could be found by lunar and astral observations, and wished us to shew him how that was done. We were, however, unable to comply with his request, as we had not the necessary tables, and could not make ourselves understood on such subjects with all the assistance of our interpreters. He shewed great displeasure at our refusal, and said that Japanese men of learning would soon arrive, with Dutch interpreters, from the capital, to extract explanations from us on scientific subjects, and that we would be compelled to answer their questions.

This news was not very consoling, for it indicated that the Japanese intended to force us to give them instructions. Mr. Moor had voluntarily

offered his services in that respect, but had declined teaching mathematics on the ground of inability ; he, however, advised the Japanese to resort to Mr. Chlebnikoff for instruction in the mathematical sciences, as he was well acquainted with those branches of knowledge.

Though Mamia-Rinso was decidedly inimical to us, we were not always engaged in disputes with him ; on the contrary, we conversed together in an apparent friendly manner on various subjects, among which the political was the most important. He maintained that the Japanese had well-founded reasons for believing that the Russians entertained evil designs upon them, and that the Dutch had spoken truth in their information respecting several European courts. Teske, however, was not of this opinion. He believed that the Dutch had designedly infused suspicion into the Japanese Government against the Russians and the English ; they asserted that these two nations, then united against France and her allies, had determined to extend their power towards the east ; that England acting by sea, and Russia by land, and reciprocally supporting each other, had for their ultimate object to divide China and Japan between them. As proofs of this intention, the Dutch cited the progress which those nations had in a short time made in their approaches towards Japan ; Russia being in possession of Siberia and the Aleute Islands, and England of India. Captain

Broughton, who twice visited the Japanese coasts, and on both occasions had intercourse with the natives, performed these voyages at the time when Russia and England were at war with France and Holland ; and, according to Teske's statement, the Dutch then asserted that the English were examining the Japanese harbours with the view of afterwards attacking them. We protested that this notion was groundless, and endeavoured to explain to the Japanese the real cause of Captain Broughton's visits to their coasts, which was well known to the Dutch, and also to convince them that the false representations of that people originated in selfishness and jealousy, as they were afraid that the Japanese might consent to a commercial intercourse with England and Russia, whereby they would be deprived of the immense advantages they derived from their fraudulent traffic, and the sale of trifling articles at a most exorbitant price. Teske agreed with me, and appeared firmly persuaded that the representations of the Dutch proceeded solely from avarice and envy ; but Mamia-Rinso still retained his favourable opinion of them. On this occasion, Teske gave an account of a transaction which had rendered the Japanese Government so inimical to the English, that, he was of opinion, if a ship of that nation arrived on the coast, the crew would be liable to be dealt with as we had been.

One or two years after Resanoff's departure, a large ship, under Russian colours, appeared at the

entrance of the harbour of Nangasaky. Some Dutch and Japanese were, by order of the Governor, sent on board, where the former, one excepted, were detained ; the latter, and the Dutchman, were directed to return ashore with a notification that the vessel was an English ship ; that the rest of the Dutch were kept on board in consequence of the two nations being at war, and that they would be carried off as prisoners, unless the Japanese supplied the ship with a certain number of bullocks and pigs. While waiting for an answer, the English sailed up and down the harbour in boats, and made soundings. Meanwhile the Dutch persuaded the Governor to pay the ransom demanded, and the Dutchmen were sent on shore. The Governor had to atone with his life for his conduct in this affair, and orders were immediately issued to act hostilely against the English wherever they might be found.

On our remarking that the Dutch cheated the Japanese by selling them wretched merchandize at high prices, Teske replied that the Japanese Government was perfectly sensible of that ; but, notwithstanding, would not alter the old arrangements. In our conversation on this subject, he related the following anecdote. The war with England having prevented the Dutch from trading direct to Japan, they freighted ships in the United States of America, with valuable cargoes for Japan. These ships entered Nangasaky under the Dutch

flag. The cargoes were delivered before the Japanese began to take particular notice that both these ships and their crews differed very much in appearance from the vessels and seamen they had been accustomed to see. But suspicion was in particular excited by the superior quality of the goods, which were, in fact, all English; the government, on discovering this, immediately ordered the ships to be reloaded and dismissed from the harbour.

About the middle of the month of March, the Governor gave us permission to walk about the town and its environs. We twice made excursions to the distance of four leagues, accompanied by five or six imperial, and three or four of the principality soldiers, under the direction of one of the interpreters. Besides this escort, we were attended by several servants, who carried our tea equipage, *sagi*, mats, and not unfrequently provisions for our dinner. A police officer from the town was also attached to our escort; he preceded us and pointed out the road we were to take.

The Japanese often took us four wersts from the town to the hills, and along the sea coast. We perceived that it would not be difficult to break loose from our guards, by using their own arms\*.

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\* The Japanese constantly wear a sabre and a dagger at the girdle; but when they sit down in a house they usually lay their sabre on the floor beside them. The dagger, however, is seldom removed



The question, however, was, whither should we then fly? We resolved to wait for an opportunity when there should be a vessel on the coast, to which we might push off; and for that reason we always requested the Japanese to take us along the shore. We did not forget, at the same time, to carry our supply of provisions with us. Mr. Moor, however, who could not fail to conjecture our design, told the Japanese that he felt pain in his feet, and begged they would not go so far from the town.

At the latter end of March, the interpreter and our guards again informed us that we should soon be released from our confinement, and that we were only kept in prison until the completion of the necessary repairs in the house which was designed for us. Soon afterwards Kumaddschero requested that Mr. Moor would describe to him, by a drawing, in what part of their houses the Russians place images of their Saints, in order that some might be put into our new residence. We laughed at this, and assured him that the Japanese might fix up the images wherever they pleased; but Kumaddschero repeated his solicitation, and Mr. Moor at length gave him a drawing.\*

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from the girdle, and when it is, if they have to leave, but for a moment, the apartment in which they may be, they never fail to replace it. In a word, the dagger is their inseparable companion.

\* We soon learned that Kumaddschero had really made a very serious matter of it, for every thing was arranged precisely according to Mr. Moor's drawing.

On the morning of the 1st of April, the Japanese began to remove our things to the house, and at noon we were conducted before the Bunyo at the castle. In the presence of all the chief officers of the city, he informed us that we were now to be released from our imprisonment, and lodged in a fine house, which had previously been the residence of a Japanese officer, that we should live in a much better style than before, and that we ought therefore to regard the Japanese as our countrymen and brothers. With these words he withdrew.

## CHAPTER VI.

FROM the castle we were conducted to the house which had been prepared for us. It was situated opposite to the southern gate of the fortress, between the rampart and a sloping rock, at the foot of which the middle quarter of the city was built. It had a pretty extensive yard, and was surrounded by a wooden wall or fence, with chevaux-de-frise. The yard was divided by a wooden fence into two separate parts, one of which was appropriated to us. In this place, three or four trees and a few shrubs were planted, and the Japanese, in drawing our attention to all the elegancies of our new dwelling, called it a garden. There was a puddle of dirty water in the further corner of the yard, which they styled a lake, and a hillock of mud in the centre was intended to represent an island.\* From

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\* The Japanese are extremely fond of gardens, and love to imitate the works of nature. During our walks through the city, we frequently passed by houses with little pieces of cultivated ground. They all contained a pool of water surrounded with trees and bushes. In the centre of the water two or three heaps of earth were usually collected to represent islands, with stones fixed upon them, by way of being rocks and mountains; some of these islands were even planted with shrubberies. In the water we sometimes observed little boats and vessels sailing about, which were, however, very badly made. Such were the ornaments usually attached to the houses of the poorer classes, whose bits of enclosed ground, or yards, were only a few paces in diameter; the richer class,

this yard, or garden, a small door, which was, however, always closed, communicated with the adjoining yard. It was only opened when the commander of the Sangai soldiers, or one of the officers came to inspect our yard ; or when we were led out to walk. At sunset our guards began to walk their rounds at every half hour. The gate leading to the road next the rampart was in the other part of the yard, and was only closed during the night. Our house was divided by wooden palisades into two separate parts, each of which communicated with the corresponding half of the yard. One half of the house contained three apartments, which were assigned to our use, and separated from each other by screens ; and the other part behind the palisades was occupied by a party of soldiers, and an officer of the prince of Sangar, by whom we were guarded. They could observe all our motions with the greatest ease ; and there was, besides, a door which communicated from their part of the house to our's, but which was always closed. These soldiers, in addition to their sabres and daggers, were armed with guns

however, have, in general, fine gardens. The climate of the Island of Matsmai, notwithstanding its advantageous geographical situation, is, on account of other local circumstances, unfavourable for gardening ; but, from the accounts of the Japanese themselves, there are many fine gardens on the Island of Nippon, belonging to the princes and other individuals of distinction, whose chief pride consists in admitting the common people to walk in them, and to wonder at the beauty of their cultivation.

and pikes. The officer was constantly seated near the palisades, looking into our apartment. Besides this guard-room, there was another little chamber, in which two imperial soldiers were stationed, who were occasionally relieved, and who could likewise see all that passed in our apartments. The door which led from their chamber to our lodgings was closed only at night. These soldiers were frequently with us in the course of the day; and, indeed, sometimes visited us during the night, when we were first removed to our new abode. Behind these guard-rooms, and in the same part of the house, were chambers for the servants, kitchens and store-rooms. That part of the house which we occupied was surrounded by a balcony, or gallery, from which we could see over the fence, and could descry towards the south the straits of Sangar, the opposite coast of Japan, and the masts of several vessels lying close in shore.\* Through the openings in the fence, we could discover the vessels themselves, together with a part of the city. On the northern side, we had a view of the castle and hills of Matsmai.

Our residence was in various respects changed

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\* The city of Matsmai is built on a large open bay, without having any regular harbour. The Japanese vessels lie close to the shore, behind heaps of stones, which serve to protect them from the waves. In some places, the depth at low water is, as the Japanese assert, four fathoms, which is amply sufficient for large European merchantmen.

for the better. We could, at least, enjoy the sight of the sky, the stars, and many other objects; and could, when we chose, walk out into the yard and enjoy the fresh air. We had before been debarred from all these comforts. Our food was likewise considerably better. But, notwithstanding this, we were inconsolable whenever we recollected the last words of the Bunyo. He desired us to regard the Japanese as our brothers and countrymen, and mentioned not a word about Russia, as he had before been accustomed to do. He had formerly used every effort to console us, by appearing to take an interest in our behalf, and promising to exert all his influence to facilitate our return to our native country; but he now told us to look upon the Japanese as our countrymen. We could construe this in no other way than that we must make up our minds to remain in Japan, and banish every thought of Russia. But we had firmly resolved that such should not be our fate; and had even bound ourselves by an oath, that whatever might be the consequence, we would attempt either to liberate ourselves by force from the power of the Japanese, or to escape secretly during the night. We had all, with the exception of Mr. Moor, formed a determination to perish rather than remain for ever in Japan.

When the Japanese officers and the interpreter came, according to custom, to congratulate us on our removal to our new abode, they immediately

observed that the house had not made the impression upon us which they expected, and that we were as dull and melancholy as ever. We perceive, said they, that your change of residence has not contributed to cheer your spirits, and that all your thoughts are bent on returning to Russia. Though the Japanese Government has not yet come to any decision on your case, yet the Bunyo, when he visits the capital \* in the summer season, will use all his influence with the Government to obtain your freedom and to send you home. Teske, who had repeatedly assured us of the interest which the Bunyo took in our case, on this occasion mentioned to us a circumstance which determined us on attempting our escape before the commencement of the summer. It appeared that the Bunyo had, a short time be-

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\* There are two Obunyos, or Viceroys, in every district in Japan, which does not belong to a governing prince, but is immediately dependant on the Emperor. The one resides in his province, the other in the capital, and they annually relieve each other. The acting Bunyo makes a report of every thing to his coadjutor, who lays a statement before the Government, and uses his endeavours to bring the affairs to a speedy and wished-for issue. The Japanese regard this mode of alternate government as extremely convenient. It is, besides, in other respects, really necessary; as neither the wife nor children of the Bunyo are allowed to accompany him to his province. They are detained in the capital as hostages for the faithful discharge of his duty. This rule is likewise observed with regard to the governing princes. Their wives and children always reside in the capital; but the princes spend alternately one year with their families and another in their principalities.

fore, received a letter from the capital, which he opened in the presence of Teske. On reading it, he let it fall from his hand, and his countenance evinced the deepest agitation and distress. When Teske inquired the cause of his emotion, he replied, that the Government had paid no regard to his representation ; and, instead of granting him permission to maintain a friendly understanding with the Russian vessels which might in future approach the Japanese coasts, he had been directed to burn them, and make their crews prisoners. The Prince of Nambu had, accordingly, been ordered to provide a considerable detachment of troops under the command of a distinguished general, with artillery and ammunition, and to strengthen the fortifications and reinforce the garrisons of Kunashier and other sea-ports. Then, we exclaimed, war is unavoidable; and the Japanese, and not the Russians, are the guilty promoters of bloodshed. War will doubtless ensue, replied Teske, but it will not last for ever ; whenever peace is concluded, you will be set at liberty. Set at liberty ! thought we, yes, when our bones have rotted in Japan ! We were well aware that the harbour of Okotzk did not contain so considerable a force as would compel the Japanese to come to a reconciliation ; for this purpose, it would have been necessary to send an expedition from the Baltic, and the practicability of that event depended on the peace with England. All these



things required time, and time might banish all recollection of our case.

These considerations urged us to attempt the speedy execution of our project, and, if possible, to effect our escape before the arrival of any Russian vessels ; as we reflected that, when they came within sight of the Japanese coasts, our guards would probably be doubled, or we might again be shut up in our cages.

Teske used every endeavour to console us. He assured us, that if the new Bunyo should be as kindly disposed towards us as *ARRAO-MADSIMANO-KAMI* \* had been, he might, in consequence of the personal intercessions which his colleague would make in our behalf, easily give another turn to our affair. The new Bunyo was expected in two months. But the Russian ships might appear in the interim ; and as they had no reason to expect a friendly reception from the Japanese, they might probably themselves be the first to adopt measures of hostility. We, moreover, learned from Teske, that the new Governor would bring along with him the secret paper which Chwostoff had sent to the Japanese, and which had not yet been shewn to us. In the meanwhile the Ja-

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\* *ARRAO-MADSIMANO* was the name of the first Bunyo. *Kami* denotes a dignity which persons of rank obtain from the ecclesiastical Emperor, and is always added by way of distinction to the person's name. There is no dignity in Europe, or perhaps in the world, which corresponds with *Kami* ; it signifies something spiritual,

panese were constantly questioning us on various subjects. This was chiefly by the advice of Mamia-Rinso. We learned from Teske that this man had become our irreconcilable enemy, that he had declared to the Governor that our arrival at Japan was not accidental, but that we had been sent thither for the express purpose of acting as spies. We were not informed of all the arguments which he adduced in support of his assertion ; but those which Teske mentioned to us were highly ludicrous. For instance, it appeared to him a very suspicious circumstance that we should have along with us a letter of credit for five thousand piasters, which were to be paid by an English merchant at Canton ; he was fully persuaded that some improper motives must have induced us to make provision for so much foreign gold, which might be brought to Japan. He, therefore, inquired the name of the merchant, whether he had ever been in Russia, whether he spoke the Russian language, &c. Teske, however, assured us, that though Mamia-Rinso had not succeeded in altering the good opinion which the Bunyo entertained of our conduct, yet his representations had had a considerable effect in the capital, where not only the Government, but the greater part of the people were prejudiced against us.

In the meanwhile the interpreters neglected no opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the Russian language, and they took notes of

every thing they learned. They frequently mentioned the men of learning \* who were to come in the suite of the new Governor, for the purpose of conversing with us on philosophical subjects, and making themselves acquainted with the contents of our books. In short, every ray of hope that the Japanese would, of their own accord, grant us our liberty, had now vanished. They had, it is true, ameliorated our condition ; but this we attributed merely to their wish of reconciling us to our fate, in order that our lives might be preserved, and they reap the benefit of our instruction.

On this subject we all entertained but one opinion, and our thoughts were wholly occupied with the means of carrying into effect our hazardous enterprise, to which our own companion, Mr. Moor, proved the greatest obstacle. This unfortunate circumstance rendered our situation doubly wretched. He was, as it were, transformed into another being. He no longer regarded himself as a Russian, and assured the Japanese that all his relations resided in Germany, &c.† His con-

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\* In the capital of the Japanese empire, there is an institution resembling our universities or academies. The members of this institution devote themselves to the study of philosophy and the instruction of young persons, some of whom reside in the institution, and others merely attend at the hours of instruction, for the receiving of which, however, the consent of the Government is necessary. I shall hereafter mention the extent of knowledge to which learned men attain in Japan.

† Mr. Moor's father was a German, in the Russian service. His mother, however, was a native of Russia, and he himself had

versations with the interpreters proved to us what we might expect from him. Alexei secretly informed us, that Mr. Moor had acquainted him with his design of entering the Japanese service as European interpreter, and had advised him to do the same, for which he promised him his protection when he should become a distinguished man. It was evident that he was to us a very dangerous person, and this was an additional reason for inducing us to hasten the execution of our project.

Had we been all of one mind, an attempt to escape might easily have been carried into execution. Though the Sangar soldiers scarcely ever fell asleep during the night, yet they concerned themselves but little about us, and usually sat by the fire smoking tobacco. Their whole duty consisted in going every half hour round the yard, and striking the hour. The officer, it is true, always sat near the palisades, yet he seldom looked into our apartment, and was almost constantly occupied in reading.\* As for the imperial soldiers, they strictly

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been baptized in the Russian Faith. He had received his education in the Naval Cadet College.

\* The Japanese are extremely fond of reading; even the common soldiers when on duty are continually engaged with books. This passion for literature, however, proved somewhat inconvenient to us, as they always read aloud, in a tone of voice resembling singing; much in the same style in which the Psalms are read at funerals in Russia. Before we became accustomed to this, we were unable to enjoy a moment's rest during the night. The history of their native country, the contests which have arisen among themselves, and the wars in which they have been engaged with neighbouring

fulfilled their duty at first, but they afterwards slept during the whole of the night, or amused themselves with reading or playing at cards or draughts.\* We might easily, at midnight, have crept one after another into the yard, previously taking the precaution to place some of our clothes on the beds, and covering them up beneath the quilts, from which it would appear that we were still lying soundly asleep. There was an aperture under the fence, through which the water ran off from the yard: this opening might easily have been in-

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nations, form the subjects of their favourite books, which are all printed in Japan. They do not use metal types, but print with plates cut out of pieces of hard wood.

\* Playing at cards and draughts are very common amusements among the Japanese. They are fond of playing for money, and will stake their last piece upon a game. They were taught to play at cards by the Dutch sailors, who were allowed free intercourse with the inhabitants, and in Nangasack were permitted to visit taverns and women of a certain character; who, in Japan, carry on their trade of prostitution under the protection of the laws. The cards were at first known to the Japanese by their European names, and there were fifty-two in a pack. Owing, however, to the pecuniary losses and fatal disputes to which card playing gave rise, that amusement was strictly prohibited in Japan. In order to evade the law, the Japanese invented a pack of forty-eight cards, which are much smaller than ours, and which are generally used. Their game at draughts is extremely complicated and difficult. They make use of a very large draught-board and four hundred men, which they move about in many different directions, and which are liable to be taken in various ways. Our sailors played at draughts according to the usual European way; the Japanese immediately imitated them, and the game was soon generally known throughout the whole city, and the Russian terms were adopted in playing it.

creased so as to admit of our creeping through it. We must then have stolen softly through the town, until we reached the shore, from whence, in a small boat, we might row to one of the vessels which we had observed during our walks, and on gaining possession of it put to sea. But to insure the success of such an enterprise, it was necessary that a brisk wind should be blowing from the land ; and Mr. Moor, who suspected our design, watched us closely at every motion ; we therefore thought it impossible to make an attempt of this nature without his participation, as he would have immediately discovered our flight, and raised an alarm among the guards. None of the inhabitants of the city being permitted to go out at night without lanterns, to elude the observation of the patrols it would be requisite to creep cautiously along the streets, which would at least have required several hours, and before that time our escape would probably have been prevented : we therefore abandoned all thoughts of carrying this design into effect. We had, however, formed two other plans. Instead of proceeding to the shore, we might ascend a mound covered with trees, which formed a kind of glacis, behind the ditch on the western side of the fortress ; for, during our walks, we had observed that no guards were stationed either on the rampart or the glacis, but that, within the gate of the garrison, two soldiers only were seated in a large guard-room, who were usually amusing themselves by smoking to-

bacco. From the glacis we might gain a long alley of high trees, and from thence enter the city burying-ground\*, which was situated in an extensive plain, that stretched along the side of a deep valley. After passing through the cemetery we should be in the open fields, about the distance of two wersts from the hills. It would then require three days to be spent in crossing the hills in a northerly direction, in order to reach the coast, there to await the opportunity of making ourselves masters of a vessel. Our other plan was to break from our guards by force, in case, during our walks, we should meet with a ship near the shore.

We gave the preference to the latter scheme, as we reflected, that whilst we were crossing the hills, the Japanese might gain time to issue orders for keeping a strict watch over their ships. But this project was likewise extremely uncertain, since it required the combination of two circumstances; namely, a brisk favourable wind, and the meeting with a vessel suited to our purpose. Though we had no time for delay, yet we resolved to wait for a day or two, in the hope that an opportunity might arise to enable us to carry the latter plan into execution.

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\* We should have met with no obstruction in passing through the cemetery, as the Japanese have a great horror at approaching such places during the night. Even allowing that we had accidentally been perceived from a distance, the sight of human figures wandering about among the tombs would certainly have deprived the Japanese of their senses.

In the meanwhile we made every possible preparation for our departure. In one of our walks in the outskirts of the city, we found a piece of steel, which one of the sailors picked up, under pretence of drawing up his boot, and slipped it into his pocket; we likewise found means to provide ourselves with some flints, unperceived by our attendants. The fragments of an old shirt, which we threw upon the fire as if by accident, served us for tinder: we besides daily increased our store of provisions, by secreting a portion of our allowance. These were merely economical arrangements; but we did not, on the other hand, neglect to make warlike preparations. We found amongst the grass in our yard, a large sharp chisel, which had probably been left behind by the carpenters who repaired our house: we immediately hid it, and resolved, on the first favourable opportunity, to fasten it to a long pole, in order that it might serve as a pike. To a similar purpose we destined a spade, which had been left by accident in our yard, and which we carefully concealed. But this was not all: the proverb, that necessity is the mother of invention, was fully realized; for Mr. Chlebnikoff, even managed to make a compass. We requested our attendants to let us have two large needles for mending our clothes, and afterwards pretended that we had lost them. The Japanese sometimes fasten together the beams of their houses with copper; this had been done in our house, although the cop-



per was very rusty. Mr. Chlebnikoff cleaned a piece of this copper, in the middle of which he bored a hole, so that a needle might be placed upon it : by frequently rubbing this needle on a stone which he selected for the purpose, he succeeded in magnetising it, and finally gave it such a degree of polarity that it pointed with tolerable accuracy towards the north. The case was composed of a few sheets of paper pasted together with rice. This compass cost Mr. Chlebnikoff much labour, and he was, besides, obliged to proceed with the greatest caution. Had the Japanese observed him rubbing the needle against the flint, they would never have guessed his real design, but would probably supposed that he was sharpening the point ; but it would have been impossible to deceive Mr. Moor. It was therefore so arranged, that whilst Mr. Chlebnikoff was at work in a corner of the yard, one of our party always walked up and down, and gave him a signal when any suspicious person approached.

The Japanese now took us out to walk more frequently than before, and the interpreters, or some of the inhabitants of the city often invited us to call on them, and gave us refreshments. According to the Japanese laws, however, a native cannot receive strangers into the body of his house, and we always entered under the pretence of being so fatigued by our walk, that it was necessary we should rest awhile. We generally found every thing prepared for our

reception, and we took our seats in the galleries, which were previously spread with clean mats. According to the Japanese custom, they presented to us tea, tobacco for smoking, *sagi*, sweet cakes, fruits, &c.

One day, as we were walking along the beach, we came up with two fishing boats. As it were, in fulfilment of our wishes, a sloop chanced to be lying at a short distance from the shore. I deliberated with Mr. Chlebnikoff, but the execution of our enterprise seemed so doubtful, that we deemed it imprudent to make the attempt. Whilst we were contending with the soldiers, the fishermen might have rowed off from the shore, and even had we succeeded in getting on board their boats, it would have been extremely uncertain whether or not we could have gained possession of the vessel. Mr. Moor, who watched every motion we made, immediately understood what was passing in our minds. On our return home, Alexei secretly informed us that we were in the greatest danger, as Mr. Moor had ordered him to discover our design to the Japanese, and had threatened to do so himself in case of his refusal. Alexei asked us whether we were determined on attempting our escape, and if so, entreated that we would not leave him behind us. I must here observe, that we had not made Alexei acquainted with our last plan, fearing lest he might be terrified at the thought of so desperate an undertaking, and con-

sequently be induced to betray us. We, besides, observed, that he was engaged for several hours every day, in private conversation with Mr. Moor, and this circumstance roused our suspicion. Mr. Moor was, probably, uncertain whether or not we had entirely relinquished our project, and thrown away our store of provisions. Had he made so important a communication to the Japanese, without being able to prove what he asserted, he would have been overwhelmed with shame by such an act of treachery towards his unfortunate companions, who had neither the will nor the power to do him harm. If by any miracle we had all safely returned to Russia, what would have been his feelings, after such conduct ! These reflections, doubtless, passed within his mind and convinced him that he must have incontestable proofs of our design, before he could venture to disclose his suspicions to the Japanese. It appeared, therefore, probable that he wished to make Alexei the instrument for obtaining those proofs. Mr. Chlebnikoff, indeed, was of opinion, that this Karile was sincerely attached to us, and that we might safely trust him with the secret ; but I did not think this altogether prudent. The sailors were all averse to making him a participator in the business, and assured us that Mr. Moor, by his representations, had alienated him from us, and drawn him over to his side. In such a situation as ours, it was necessary to consult the feel-

ings of all; we, therefore, followed the advice of the sailors, and told Alexei that we had for that time abandoned all thought of escaping, but that we might, perhaps, think of it again on the return of summer, and asked him how he supposed we could best execute our purpose?

In order to remove suspicion from the mind of Mr. Moor, we told him we still wished to escape, but that we had resolved not to go without him, and would not make any attempt until after the arrival of the new Bunyo. We added that we wished to know the contents of Chwostoff's paper, and to see how the new Bunyo should be disposed towards us, and that he might, by that time, probably, change his mind, and like us, resolve to venture every thing. Mr. Moor replied, that his determination was totally independent of any information which the Bunyo might bring, and that he had resolved to remain in Japan. We were, however, happy to find that our dissimulation had the desired effect; Mr. Moor seemed perfectly satisfied, and no longer kept a watchful eye upon us. The reader will no doubt pardon this conduct: when he considers what a web of wickedness, cunning, and calumny had been woven around us, can we be condemned for dealing thus with our faithless companion, who would, for his own selfish purposes, have hindered us from escaping eternal imprisonment, and returning to our native country?

At length the 20th of April arrived. The time was near at hand when we might expect our ships to reach Japan, supposing that the *Diana* had sailed from Okotzk to winter in Kamtschatka. To all appearance it was vain to look forward to an opportunity of forcibly breaking from our guards, and getting on board a vessel. In the meanwhile some little imprudence, on the part of our sailors, had, probably, occasioned Mr. Moor to renew his suspicions, for he now began to watch us with as much circumspection as before. We again deliberated on what we should do. The coasts of Matsmai are thickly covered with villages of various sizes; we knew that vessels and boats were lying on every part of the shore. We reflected that these vessels might be strongly armed and guarded; but then Heaven assists the bold, and force must be opposed to force.—We determined to make our escape into the mountains.

On the 23d of April, we were conducted to the out-skirts of the city to walk. Under pretence of mere curiosity, we requested the Japanese to lead us to a pagoda, which stood near the cemetery\*, and which had recently been built

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\* When we went out to walk, the Japanese frequently took us into their temples, and places of devotion, where they shewed us every thing without the least reserve. In this respect they are far less bigotted than some European nations, who do not admit strangers into their sacred repositories. When they had shewn us every thing, they usually desired us to sit down at the door of the

after a fire. We had thus an opportunity of observing the footpaths which we might pursue in the course of our flight.

It may be here observed, that the Island of Matsmai \* is entirely covered with hills. The ground is no where level, except on the coast, and at short distances from the base of the mountains, which raise their summits in every direction, and are separated from each other by deep ravines. This extraordinary chain of mountains, which is high and low by turns, extends over the whole island; the midland parts of which are uninhabited. All the Kurile and Japanese villages lie along the coast.

As we passed through the fields we gathered wild leeks and garlick †, in such great quantities, that Mr. Moor, who thought we wanted it for

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temple, and brought us tea, sagi and tobacco. The interior of their temples bears an extraordinary resemblance to the catholic churches. They are furnished with a number of images, large and small candlesticks with tapers, &c.

\* The island is of a quadrangular form. Its utmost length, from south to north, is about two hundred and fifty-five Italian miles, and its breadth, from east to west, about two hundred and fifty.

† The Japanese are very fond of wild leeks, boiled when young. They, however, do not eat wild garlick, although it would be very salutary for them, as scorbutic diseases are extremely prevalent in Japan, and in many cases prove fatal. Wild garlick, as experience proves, is a powerful anti-scorbutic. We ate both wild leeks and wild garlick, which we gathered ourselves during our walks, to save trouble to our attendants.

present use, could have no idea that we were on the eve of making our escape.

On our return home, we felt extremely fatigued, and threw ourselves on our beds. During the twilight the sailors entered the kitchen, and carried off two knives, without being perceived. About half an hour before midnight, Simanoff and Schkajeff stole into the yard, and concealed themselves under the steps. When twelve o'clock struck, and the Sangar soldiers had gone their rounds, they began to make a hole under the fence through which we all (Mr. Moor and Alexei excepted) crept one after another. I stumbled in going out, slipped down and struck my knee against a stake which was sunk in the ground close to the opening. The blow was extremely violent, but the pain soon diminished.

We found ourselves on a very narrow path between the fence and the hollow, so that it was with the utmost difficulty we succeeded in gaining the high road. With hasty steps we then passed between the trees, crossed the mound, and the cemetery; and, in about half an hour, reached the foot of the first hill which we had to ascend.

END OF VOL. I.

**NARRATIVE**  
**OF**  
**MY CAPTIVITY**  
**IN**  
**JAPAN,**

**DURING THE YEARS 1811, 1812. & 1813,**

**WITH**  
**OBSERVATIONS**  
**ON THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE**  
**BY**  
**CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN, R. N.**

*To which is added*

**AN ACCOUNT OF**  
**VOYAGES TO THE COASTS OF JAPAN**  
**AND OF**  
**Negotiations with the Japanese,**  
**FOR THE**

**RELEASE OF THE AUTHOR AND HIS COMPANIONS**

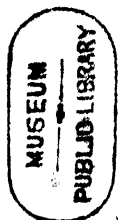
**BY CAPTAIN RIKORD.**

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**1818.**







# NARRATIVE

OF

## CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN

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### CHAPTER I.

PROCEEDING in our hazardous enterprize, we began, at the distance of about five wersts from the shore, to climb the hills, and endeavoured, wherever it was possible, to direct our course towards the north. The stars served to guide us. Whilst we were ascending the first hill I felt a violent pain in my knee, which, in a short time swelled prodigiously. When we proceeded along places which were level, I could, with the assistance of a stick, walk without much difficulty ; but I experienced severe pain either in ascending or descending, as I was then obliged to tread heavily with the leg which had been hurt. Being thus unable to make an equal use of both feet, I was quickly overcome with fatigue. My companions were, therefore, under the necessity of stopping every half hour, in order that I might recover myself, and ease my knee by resting.

Our object was to reach, before day-break, some hills, along which a thick forest extended, in order to conceal ourselves from the observation of the enemy ; for we had now reason to regard the Japanese as implacably hostile to us. During our walks in the vicinity of the town, this forest appeared to us to be at no considerable distance, but we soon found how greatly we had mistaken its situation. We could trace no footpath leading directly to the forest, and we therefore advanced straight forward. Owing to the darkness of the night we could see no farther than a few paces around us, and we sometimes unexpectedly found ourselves at the foot of a steep precipice which it was impossible to climb. We had then to search for a more practicable road ; which, when found, we continued to ascend until new obstacles presented themselves.

In this way we spent three anxious hours, and having at last gained the summit, we proceeded northward along the level height. But fate had every where thrown interruptions and difficulties in our way. At the height we had now reached, the snow lay in some parts extremely thick, and the Japanese might easily have traced our footsteps across it. We were therefore obliged to search for such places as were not covered with snow ; in doing this we crossed from one side to the other, and frequently turned back,

by which we were greatly fatigued, and advanced but slowly. About an hour before daybreak, however, we unexpectedly found ourselves proceeding, in a direct line, for the forest, along a good road, which the Japanese had made for the purpose of conveying wood to the city on pack-horses. This road was thickly imprinted with the tracks of horses and men; there was no snow upon it, and therefore the Japanese could not trace our footsteps. It led in a straight northerly direction, and passed over the level summits of the hills. We were not a little delighted at the discovery, and advanced with increased rapidity. I still felt much pain in my knee, and through the whole of my leg; but as we were walking on level ground it was nothing to equal that which I experienced when ascending the side of the hill.

We hoped shortly to reach the forest, in the heart of which we intended to pass the day; but the sailor, Wassiljeff, who accidentally looked behind him, suddenly exclaimed, "they are pursuing us on horseback with lanterns." With these words he quickly descended into a hollow on one side of the road. On looking round, we perceived some lights which appeared to be at no great distance from us. We immediately followed the example of Wassiljeff, and precipitated ourselves into a deep hollow. We descended to a considerable distance without finding either a tree or thicket under

which we could conceal ourselves, and day was already beginning to dawn. Had it been broad daylight we might easily have been observed from any of the surrounding hills. We at length reached the bottom of the hollow, which was on every side overhung with naked precipices. The hollow itself was covered with thick snow, but no place of concealment presented itself, and the sun had now completely risen.

We stood still for a few moments, not knowing how to proceed ; at last we perceived a small aperture in a rock, and on approaching it, found that it was a cavity which might, perhaps, though with difficulty, contain us all. A waterfall, which descended from the hill and passed by the side of this cavity, had hollowed out a pit about ten feet deep almost directly under it. We were enabled to get near the cavity by advancing along the snow which was very high on the one side. This hole, in which we hoped to find shelter, was situated in the side of a rock, about nine feet from the bottom of the hollow, but the cataract had driven away so much of the snow, that it was with the greatest difficulty we could reach the aperture, our only assistance in climbing being a small tree which grew beside it. Had any of us missed a step, or had the tree failed to support our weight, we might have been precipitated into the pit, from which we could not easily have ex-

tricated ourselves. With my lame leg, it would have been next to impossible for me to have got out. We, however, succeeded in reaching the hole in safety.

When in it, we found that we had not sufficient room to sit down, and our grotto was, besides, half filled with a kind of sand stones, of which the whole hill was composed. Many of the stones lay with their sharp points and edges upwards, and we dared not to stir without the greatest caution, as there was a considerable slope towards the mouth of the hole ; and had any of the stones given way, we might have rolled out along with them. We could neither lie down nor stretch out our feet, but were obliged to rest ourselves first on one elbow, and then on the other. In other respects our hiding place was well adapted to our purpose. The Japanese could not have traced us to it from any distance, for fortunately a keen frosty morning had so hardened the snow, that our footsteps were no longer visible. But there was one circumstance which excited our apprehension, our companion Schkajeff, as he was descending the hollow, lost his cap, which he had himself made out of a worsted stocking. Had it been picked up by the Japanese, they would have immediately recognised it as a part of our wardrobe, and it might perhaps have assisted them in discovering our asylum. We were, besides, afraid that

the rays of the sun might melt the snow at the entrance of the cavity, and in that case we should have found it impossible to get out, as even in the morning we could not reach it without considerable difficulty.

In this situation we remained until sunset, reflecting on our fate and deliberating how we should proceed. The day was extremely clear, but the rays of the sun did not penetrate to our retreat, and the neighbouring waterfall increased the coolness of the atmosphere, so that we frequently shivered till our teeth knocked against each other. During the whole day we distinctly heard the sound of hatchets in the forest, which was at no great distance from us. At sunset we peeped out of our hole and saw a number of people on the hills. No other remarkable circumstance occurred, except that we heard a rustling noise as if somebody had been slipping down the hill towards us. The noise became louder and louder; we even fancied that we beheld soldiers in search of us, and prepared for our defence, when we suddenly perceived a wild deer, but the animal no sooner smelt us than he darted off at full speed.

When the stars began to appear we left our hole, and proceeded northwards to a high hill, which was here and there overgrown with underwood. My situation was dreadful. Whilst we were in the cave I had constantly kept my lame leg in

one position, and therefore experienced but little uneasiness, but whenever I attempted to walk, and particularly to ascend the hill, the pain, which was not confined to my knee, but extended from the heel to the hip, was unbearable. I endured the utmost agony in climbing this hill, and we had yet many more to ascend. The circumstances of our case, however, required that we should advance without loss of time. Finding that I retarded my companions, and that I might perhaps occasion them to be overtaken by their pursuers, I entreated that they would abandon me to my fate, and proceed without me ; but to this suggestion they would not listen. I represented that, from the commencement of our enterprise, fate had destined me to suffer, by rendering me incapable of following them. I begged that they would not sacrifice themselves for my sake, as I only occasioned them to linger, and from the excruciating pain which I endured, they must, sooner or later, leave me behind. But they were not to be prevailed on by my entreaties. They all protested that so long as I lived they would not abandon me, and that they would stop to let me rest at every quarter of a mile, and that, when they reached a safe place of concealment, they would stop for two or three days, during which time I might recover the use of my leg. Makaroff besides offered to assist me in climbing the hills, if I would go behind him and hold by the skirts of



his jacket or his girdle. In this manner I resolved to follow my companions; I was unable to walk, and was dragged along by the sailors.

Having ascended another hill, we reached a level spot which was covered with bamboo reeds and grass of the preceding year. Here we rested for a short time, and then advanced in a northerly direction, taking the stars for our guides. The night was calm and clear, and the snow-topt hills, which we had yet to ascend, shone in the distance. The level eminence which we were now crossing, was separated from the adjoining hill by a ravine of extraordinary depth, which we thought it imprudent to descend during the night, as we might have experienced considerable difficulty in extricating ourselves from the abyss. Instead therefore of advancing straight northwards, we turned a little towards the west, and proceeded along the edge of the ravine, in the hope of finding some convenient place for crossing it. Our embarrassment was not of long duration. We soon discovered a kind of mound which appeared to be indebted to art for its existence, and which connected together the summits of the hills, which were otherwise separated by the precipitous ravine. It was on account of its magnitude only that it could be regarded as a production of nature. As we were proceeding onward we discovered, as we supposed, two huts, and at intervals heard the sound of a pipe

resembling that which is used in Russia for alluring quails. We stooped down among the grass, and for a long while listened attentively without knowing whether the sound proceeded from a bird or from some hunters whom we suspected might be in the huts. We at length resolved to advance, being well aware that their number could not be so considerable as to prevent our resisting them with success in case they attacked us. On approaching, however, we discovered that what we had in the dark taken for huts were merely two heaps of poles. We armed ourselves with some of these poles, and then pursued our course.

On reaching the next hill we discovered a wide road leading to the north, along which coals and wood are conveyed on packhorses to the city. We observed plainly that this road had not been trodden during the present spring, though we perceived in all directions fires which were doubtless kindled for making charcoal. The sides of this road were overgrown with thickets and high grass, among which we lay down to rest at midnight, for owing to the sharp stones with which the cave was filled, we had not enjoyed a moment's repose during the day. We slept for two or three hours and then resumed our course. From the summit of the hill we descended, by various turnings and windings, into a small valley, which was watered by a little stream, on the surface of which the ice and deep

snow were in many places sufficiently strong to bear our weight. We now lost sight of the road, and proceeded over the snow in an oblique direction across the valley, in the hope of finding the road again, but our attempt was unsuccessful: we however discovered a footpath, leading to the summit of a hill, which was higher than any we had hitherto crossed. As the precipice was extremely difficult to ascend, and we frequently found it necessary to stop to rest ourselves, we did not reach the summit until day was about to dawn. We then found a convenient resting place, where we resolved to halt for the day. We crept in among the thickest of the bushes, and for the sake of a little warmth lay close to each other, as the morning was extremely cold, and our clothing was not calculated to protect us from its influence. We did not, however, lie in this place above two hours, and we suffered so severely from the cold, that to sleep was quite impossible.

When daylight was completely set in, we arose to take a view of the objects around us. We found ourselves on a lofty eminence, which was on every side surrounded by mountains. Those towards the south were somewhat lower than the one on which we stood, but those to the north were, on the contrary, considerably higher. Hills, forests and snow were the only objects which met our eyes; yet the prospect was sublime. We observed that the tops of all the hills were enveloped in mist, and we con-

sequently concluded that if we kindled a fire among the bushes it would not be perceptible from any of the surrounding eminences ; we therefore resolved to try the experiment, for the double purpose of warming ourselves and boiling our kettle \* ; not indeed to make tea, for we had none with us, but to warm and render more palatable our rice, which was by this time dry and mouldy. We likewise searched for wild herbs, but in vain, for among these hills winter still raged with the utmost severity. We collected some dry twigs, kindled a fire, and warmed some snow-water, which we sucked up with small bamboo reeds, and eat the rice along with it.

In the meantime some heavy clouds arose behind the hills from the east, and the wind began to howl among the rocks. The clouds spread in every direction, and the wind blew with more and more violence. A storm appeared to be gathering. Persuaded that we should now meet nobody among the hills, and that our pursuers therefore could not discover us, we resolved to proceed without waiting for night. We were, moreover, induced to adopt this resolution on account of the extreme cold, from which, notwithstanding the fire, we suffered most severely.

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\* We had not forgotten to bring along with us a copper kettle, which our attendants had, by a lucky chance, on the night of our escape, left on the hearth in the room where the sailors slept.

We proceeded straight northwards, along the footpath which had been traced on the ridges of the mountains. This path, however, soon inclined to one side, and at length turned completely round; we therefore abandoned it, and pursued our course among the thickets. The declivity of the hill, which was covered with snow, soon conducted us into a hollow. The pain in my foot had not in the least abated, and I was dragged along, holding by the girdle of Makaroff. When we were descending the precipice the violence of the pain forced me to sit down on the snow and slide along. In doing this I guided my course with the pole to which the chisel was fixed, which also served to diminish the velocity of my motion where the declivity was very abrupt. Contrary to our expectations the storm did not arise, the clouds dispersed, and all the surrounding hills became perceptible.

This did not, however, induce us to alter our determination, and we still continued to advance. On reaching the hollow, we discovered on the banks of a little rivulet, two or three earthen huts, but there was nobody within them. We waded through the water, and again ascended a hill, which, however, had the advantage of being covered with trees, against which we frequently rested, and by which we were at the same time concealed from observation.

Having ascended to a considerable height, we suddenly found ourselves at the foot of a steep

rock, which we could not climb without the greatest difficulty and danger. I had nearly reached the top of the rock, when I found myself under the necessity of loosening my hold of the girdle of Makaroff, who otherwise, overburthened as he was, would not have been able to have gained the summit. I therefore placed the toes of my sound foot firmly against a stone, and throwing my right arm round a young tree, which was so much bent down, that it inclined almost to a horizontal direction, I resolved to wait until Makaroff should reach the top, and be able to release me from my perilous situation. But powerful and vigorous as Makaroff was, his great exertions had so overcome him, that he no sooner reached the summit, than he fell to the ground almost in a lifeless state. At this moment, the stone against which I had rested my foot detached itself and rolled to the bottom of a deep hollow which the rock overhung; I was thus left hanging by one hand, without the possibility of obtaining any other support, owing to the excessive smoothness of the rock.

The rest of the sailors were at no great distance, but fatigue rendered them unable to afford me any assistance. Makaroff still lay stretched upon the ground, and Mr. Chlebnikoff was labouring to climb the rock at another point. Having remained in this dreadful situation for several minutes, my hand began to smart severely, and I

was on the point of ending my sufferings by precipitating myself into the gulf, more than a hundred fathoms beneath me—when Makaroff, suddenly recovering, beheld my situation, and hastened to my assistance. He rested his foot upon a stone which projected from the rock under my breast, and with one hand grasped a branch of the tree. With my hand, which was free, I then seized his girdle, and by a great effort on his part, I was drawn to the top of the rock. We were no sooner both safe, than Makaroff again fell down in a state of insensibility. Had either the stone or the branch of the tree given way, we must both have been precipitated to the bottom, and have perished.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Chlebnikoff had climbed to the middle of the rock, when such obstacles presented themselves, that he could neither move backwards nor forwards. The sailors immediately tied together the sashes they wore as girdles, and having lowered one end until he was enabled to take hold of it, drew him from his perilous situation.

We rested for a short time on the top of this rock, and then proceeded to ascend the next hill, on the summit of which we perceived, in the distance, an earthen hut, or something resembling one, which we supposed would afford a convenient shelter for the night. Before sunset we reached the summit of this hill, one of the highest in

Matsmai; it was overgrown with reeds, between which the snow lay very deep, and only a few scattered trees were to be seen. Contrary to our expectations, we found no earthen hut; but we were convinced we were now secure, as the Japanese would not look for us in that terrific spot. We immediately kindled a fire, and prepared a supper, consisting of wild garlic and sorrel, which we had gathered on the banks of the river through which we had that day (April 25th) waded. We likewise dried our clothes, which were completely soaked, as the water had in many places been more than knee deep. Towards night we collected some reeds and built a hut.

Having eaten heartily of boiled herbs and a portion of our store of provisions, we laid ourselves down to rest, as night had already set in. In consequence of the extreme fatigue we had undergone, we quickly fell asleep. My repose was not, however, of long duration; being oppressed by the excessive heat of our hut, I awoke and walked out into the open air. I leant myself against a tree near the hut, and the majestic image of nature which I then beheld excited all my admiration. The sky was clear, and numerous black clouds were floating around the nearest hills. It probably rained in the plains. The snow glistened on the tops of the mountains in the distance; I never saw the stars shine with such brilliancy as on that night; a deadly stillness prevailed around me.



But this sublime spectacle vanished, when I suddenly recollected our situation, which now presented itself to my mind in all its horrors. Six men on the summit of one of the highest mountains in Matsmai, without clothing, provisions, or even arms, by the help of which we might have obtained something to save us from starvation, and surrounded by enemies and wild beasts\*, wandering over a strange island, uncertain whether or not we should succeed in gaining possession of a vessel; and I in a state of lameness which occasioned the severest agony at every step. To reflect on so helpless a condition, was indeed to be verging on despair! In the meanwhile some of my companions also awoke, and their sighs and prayers served only to increase my distress. I forgot my own misfortunes, and shed bitter tears for their unhappy fate. In this situation I remained for upwards of an hour, when the cold forced me again to take refuge in the hut; I stretched myself upon the ground, but to sleep was impossible.

We arose at daybreak, (on the 26th of April) kindled a fire, cooked some wild garlic and sorrel, eat our breakfast, and then continued our journey. We now resolved no longer to climb the hills, but

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\* The forests of Matsmai are inhabited by bears, wolves, foxes, hares, stags and wild goats. There are, likewise, some sables to be found on this island, but their fur is of a reddish colour, and consequently of little value. The bears are uncommonly fierce, and attack men as well as other animals.

to pursue our course along the banks of a little stream which flowed in a westerly direction, and then to turn towards the north, to await on the seashore an opportunity of getting on board a vessel. We descended into a deep valley below the hill, and directed our course towards the west, along the side of the stream. But the road we had chosen was by no means an easy one. The stream frequently flowed with violence between narrow cliffs of rocks, which we could not pass without the greatest difficulty and danger. The least slip of the foot would have plunged us into the water, and we should have been carried down by the current and dashed to pieces against some of the projecting masses of rock. In addition to this, we were compelled at every quarter of a mile, and even at shorter distances, to wade across the rivulet, as the banks on one side were frequently so steep, that it was impossible to walk along them. Whenever we found it necessary to cross from one side to the other, we, of course, chose those parts in which the water was shallow and flowed with little violence; but we frequently found it, even with the assistance of poles, difficult to resist the force of the current. The depth of the stream was various, sometimes reaching to our knees, and at other times above our waists.

Having travelled in this way to some distance, we discovered on the banks of the rivulet several empty huts, which, during the summer season,

had been inhabited by wood-cutters and coal-burners. We entered them and searched for provisions, but we found only an old hatchet and a chisel, both completely covered with rust, and two lackered cups which we carried away. The day was clear and excessively warm ; we therefore resolved, though the sun had not yet set behind the hills, to pass the night in one of the huts, in which, we found a stove for making charcoal. We were afraid to kindle a blazing fire, lest it should be perceived by the Japanese ; we, however, made one sufficiently large to roast some wild garlic, lysimachia and sorrel, and to dry our clothes. We then lay down to rest in the hut, of which, one half of the roof had fallen in, so that we slept as it were, in the open air. The night was extremely cold, but from this, we did not suffer much inconvenience, as we lay among straw, with which, we completely covered ourselves.

On the following morning, the 27th of April, we took our usual breakfast, and pursued our course along the banks of the river. Having proceeded about two miles, we discovered a hut, from the roof of which, smoke was issuing. To attack the poor inhabitants, would have been an unprovoked act of cruelty, and we, besides, thought it imprudent to shew ourselves, lest they should give our pursuers information respecting us. We, therefore, ascended a hill which was covered with thickets, and proceeded westward. We then de-

cended by a footpath into a valley, where, at noon, we seated ourselves by the side of a little brook, and eat some beans and rice. On reaching the summit of another hill, we observed various roads leading to the sea-side. The hills in this part of the island were entirely barren, without either bushes or high grass, and crossed by paths in various directions. The weather was so extremely clear, that we observed a dog running along a footpath on a distant hill. It seemed imprudent to advance, as owing to our number and size, the Japanese might easily have recognised us, and yet we were unwilling to lose time. Our object was to reach the coast by the evening, and after having taken a little rest, to proceed along the shore during the night. We therefore resolved to advance separately, stooping down, and keeping a strict watch on every side. We accordingly turned back about the distance of a mile, and reached a hill somewhat lower than the rest; but, here we were still in danger; for it would have been easy to see us from the high-way which lay along the shore; we therefore sat down among the grass and deliberated on the most prudent mode of proceeding. At that moment, we discovered a party of soldiers on horseback, who were galloping along a footpath, in a direction towards us, we crept immediately into a hollow, and hid ourselves among the bushes, with which it was on both sides covered, and the soldiers rode past without perceiving us. We were

now convinced of the danger of "proceeding across the hills, for had we not been sitting down at the moment, the soldiers were riding up the hill, we should doubtless have been discovered and taken.

The valley in which we had concealed ourselves, was watered by a small brook, the bed of which was dirty and filled with decayed roots and leaves. We stirred up the mud, and found some small crabs about half an inch in length, which were indeed calculated rather to excite disgust, than to provoke appetite; but we eat them with as much pleasure, as if they had been the most exquisite dainties. Having sat about an hour in the valley, we resolved to advance in it as long as we should find bushes capable of concealing us; and to endeavour to regain the hills by some other road. The valley led straight towards the sea. We walked on for upwards of a mile, and came to a spot which could be seen from various roads. We therefore seated ourselves amidst shrubs and reeds. There we found several fine young trees, some of which we cut down to make pikes, fastening our knife to one, the chissel to another, and merely cutting the ends of others into sharp points with the hatchet which we had found in the hut, and with which one of the sailors was armed. Whilst we were busy at this work, we suddenly heard the sound of voices approaching us. They appeared to proceed from some persons on the other side of the valley. Mr. Chlebnikoff, who, at this time

was seated the highest up of any of us, saw a number of working people pass by, among whom were several women.

When it began to grow dark, we resumed our journey, and at night reached the shore, along which we proceeded in a northerly direction.\* We had, however, scarcely advanced to the distance of a werst, when we unexpectedly found ourselves in front of a village, which was built beside a steep rock, a circumstance which accounted for our not having sooner perceived it. We immediately halted, fearing to proceed lest guards might be stationed in the village; but finding that the rock was extremely high, and difficult to climb, we resolved at all hazards to venture onwards. We succeeded in passing unperceived; even the dogs never once barked at us. We found here, two boats which were good in their kind, but too small for our purpose, and we proceeded in the hope of falling in with some larger vessels.

This occurrence afforded us much satisfaction. We were convinced that the villages were not all

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\* I cannot state with any precision at what distance from the city we reached the shore. Whilst we were ascending and descending the hills, we frequently found it necessary to take a lateral direction, and even to turn back, by which means we made but little progress, though we had passed over considerable spaces of ground. From the situation of two small uninhabited islands which we observed on looking towards the shore, and which we had before seen at Matsmai, we concluded that we were about twenty-five wersts from the city.

so strictly guarded as we had supposed. In the course of the night we passed with equal boldness through one or two other villages, near which we saw several boats, but they were all too small; besides, the road along the shore was not so passable and good as we had at first supposed. There was a large plain between the hills and the beach, which was frequently intersected by hollows, through which streams and brooks flowed from the hills into the sea. When the direct course towards the sea was obstructed by perpendicular rocks, the road passed along the plain through the hollows, in which the ascent and descent\* were very steep, and exceedingly difficult. We frequently lost the footpaths, particularly in the valleys, where the soil was usually composed of gravel and sand, and we sometimes knew not how to get out of them. We often spent whole hours in searching for the road, and when we did not succeed in finding it, we were compelled to climb the heights in the dark, with the greatest difficulty and danger. There was in general no trace of foot-steps left among the sand in the hollows, and we

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\* Owing to the numerous mountains, the Japanese never employ carriages, either in Matsmai or any other of the Kurile Islands. All burdens are either conveyed by water, or on the backs of horses or oxen. The officers and persons of distinction, travel in litters and sedan-chairs, and others on horseback. There are, therefore, no proper roads, but merely footpaths, which, on the hills, for the convenience of the horses, are made to wind in various directions.

were obliged to go forward trusting to chance for finding an outlet; but we frequently found our progress stopped by rocks, which it was necessary to avoid by making a circuit, or, to attempt to surmount at the risk of breaking our necks.

At daybreak, on the 28th of April, we again turned back to the mountains, where we proposed to remain during the day. When the sun had fully risen, we found ourselves upon a high hill, which was totally barren, and consequently afforded us no means of concealment. We at length, however, discovered some bushes in a hollow, and tearing up others from different places, we fixed them into the ground, and crept in beneath them. Unfortunately, there was neither water nor snow upon this hill, and we suffered excessively from thirst. On the other side of the hollow and opposite to us, was a path leading to a wood, along which, we frequently observed men and packhorses going backwards and forwards, and saw them so plainly, that, had the former been our acquaintances, we should have found no difficulty in recognising them. They did not observe us, though a glance directed towards that part of the hollow in which we had taken refuge, would inevitably have betrayed us.

We were busily employed during the whole of this day. We stitched our shirts together for the purpose of forming two sails, and made all the necessary appurtenances out of the ropes and pieces



of woollen cloth, which we had carried off with us. There was a village at no great distance from our hiding place, and as evening approached, we observed that one of the vessels which were sailing along the coast, anchored near it. We resolved, therefore, in case the wind should prove favorable to board the vessel that very night.

At sunset we descended the hill, and proceeded towards the shore; but as we approached the vessel, we heard a noise and the sound of voices on board. We, therefore, withdrew, intending to wait until the dead of the night before we attempted the execution of our enterprise; but we soon discovered that the vessel was weighing anchor, and that the noise was occasioned by that labour. Our design was therefore frustrated, and we pursued our course along the shore.

We had this night many more obstacles to contend with than on the preceding. The hollows were more numerous and deeper, and we frequently found it necessary to wade through streams. Towards midnight, we arrived at a village of considerable size. We at first wished to pass along the principal street, but we found it extremely long, and we, besides, heard the guards striking the hour with their boards. We then proposed going round the outside of the village, but the kitchen gardens were so large, that we must have made a very considerable circuit; we, therefore, proceeded across the gardens,

and left traces of our footsteps behind us, which must have been remarkable, on account of their size.\* On the shore we observed several large fires, and, at first, were at a loss to conjecture what was meant by them. We imagined they were intended as watch-fires for the soldiers, but we soon discovered that they were signals for the vessels which were sailing past the coast, for they were lighted up immediately upon lanterns being hoisted on board the ships.

On the 29th of April, the morning dawn drove us to the adjoining heights. At sunrise we found ourselves on the summit of a high and barren hill, which afforded us no place of refuge. We perceived on every side foot-paths, along which the inhabitants passed from the villages to the forests. We, therefore, turned to the opposite side, and entered a deep woody valley, in which there was a brook : we seated ourselves in a concealed place, and kindled a fire to dry our clothes and warm us, for the weather was extremely cold and windy ; and having gathered some wild

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\* We found it inconvenient to wear the Japanese shoes, and requested that we might be furnished with leather, as one of the sailors, who understood the shoe-making business, could make boots for us. The Japanese gave us sea-dog's skin for the legs, and the hide of bear's heads for the soles. Out of these materials, Simanoff made a kind of peasant's boots, called Siberian torbasses. They were extremely large, and the traces of our sailors' footsteps were twice the size of those of the Japanese. It might, therefore, easily be guessed who imprinted the marks we left behind us.

garlic and water-angelica, we cooked and eat it. These herbs were, however, none of the most palatable, and without the addition of other food, such as a handful of beans or rice, we could not possibly have eaten them. I lost all appetite, though I drank considerable quantities of water wherever it was to be found. We now began to consider how we should furnish ourselves with provisions; and our situation rendered it necessary that we should search for a convenient place in the forest, where we might repose and recover our strength, which, owing to want of sustenance, and excessive fatigue, was nearly exhausted. Unfortunately for us, the hills at a certain distance from the shore were completely barren\*; and, at every three wersts, there were villages, whose inhabitants were, during the day, continually going backward and forward to the forest. In the day-

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\* On the eastern side of Matsmai, the coast is covered, to the very margin of the sea, with wood, and we concluded it would be the same on the western side. But we found, on the contrary, that from the shore to the centre of the island, the woods were almost all cut down for the sake of procuring fire-wood and coal. The Japanese consume great quantities of wood and charcoal, as they have no stoves, and keep fires constantly burning on the hearths. As the winter is both severe and of long duration, the extensive population renders a great supply of coal and wood necessary. The scarcity of wood on the hills on the western side of Matsmai, proves that the Japanese must have first established themselves on that part of the island, and have afterwards extended themselves to the East. The city of Matsmai is supposed to be four hundred years old.

time, it was, therefore, impossible to conceal ourselves close to the shore, and we were obliged, before sun-rise, to hasten across the hills into the forest, and when night approached again to direct our weary steps towards the sea. When we reached the beach, we were usually so overcome with fatigue, that we were scarcely able to move along. We wished to procure a supply of provisions, but we determined that nothing but the most urgent necessity should induce us to resort to measures of violence, which might irritate the Japanese, and give them reason to guard their coasts more strictly. Our great object was to obtain, as speedily as possible, possession of a vessel, confident that it would, according to the Japanese custom, be plentifully supplied with provisions and fresh water. We likewise resolved, when we should be passing through the villages, to search for the spot where the Japanese lay out their fish to dry, or, if possible, to catch two or three horses in the fields, carry them into the forest and kill them and live upon their flesh.

At sunset, we quitted our hiding-place, and proceeded, as usual, to grope our way to the coast. The obstacles which we before had to contend with were now increased; the valleys were deeper than any we had hitherto met with, the rivulets flowed with violence, and in wading through them the water frequently rose above our waists: in

addition to this, the rain poured in torrents, so that we found it impossible to lie down on the grass to rest.

We this night encountered two adventures. Close to the shore, at some distance from us, we beheld a flame, which, however, suddenly vanished at our approach. On reaching the spot where we had seen it, we discovered an extremely high rock, but neither hole nor hut from which flame could have issued. It was, perhaps, merely the effect of illusion.

We now descended into a deep valley, whence we had to ascend to the level summit of a hill, by a steep, winding, and well beaten foot path, when we met with an accident which not a little distressed us. Mr. Chlebnikoff slipped his foot and fell into a hole. We once heard him stop, but he again rolled further down, and at length we knew not what had become of him. He returned no answer to our questions, and we dared not call loudly, as there were villages within hearing of us. The night was so extremely dark, that no object could be recognized at the distance of ten paces. We tied our girdles together, and fastening the one end about Wassiljeff, let him down into the hole into which Mr. Chlebnikoff had fallen. We lowered him gradually as far as the length of our united sashes would admit, and then drew him up again. Wassiljeff informed us, that, notwithstanding the depth to which he had descended, he could

not discover the extent of the hole ; and that he called Mr. Chlebnikoff, but received no answer. We, therefore, resolved to remain on the spot until day-light, and then to lower another of our party into the hole, to ascertain whether Mr. Chlebnikoff was yet living.

We remained, for two hours, in a state of the most painful uncertainty respecting the fate of our worthy companion. We at length heard a rustling among the grass, and, on looking round, to our astonishment, beheld Mr. Chlebnikoff. He had first rolled down about two fathoms from the surface, when something stopped him, and he endeavoured to climb up again ; he, however, slipped a second time, and fell perpendicularly into a pit, to the depth of four fathoms. Fortunately, there were no stones at the bottom of the pit, but he was, notwithstanding, severely bruised.\* He, at length, succeeded in climbing up the side of the hole, and reached the spot where he surprised us by his unexpected appearance. After having rested for a short time, he again accompanied us on our journey, although he felt severe pain in every part of his body.

Even now, I never look back, without horror, upon the frightful gulphs and huge rocks of Matsmai, and millions of money would not tempt me to travel over them again, even in the open day.

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\* Mr. Chlebnikoff has not yet recovered from the effects of this fall.

Whilst we were ascending steep eminences, and beheld beneath us on every side nothing but masses of rock and torrents, we were frequently obliged to hold by small bushes, without being certain whether they might not be too weak or decayed. Had any of them given way, those who were trusting to their feeble support must have been precipitated into the abyss below, and dashed to pieces. A loose stone projecting from a rock was frequently our only reliance. But Heaven watched over us, and excepting Mr. Chlebnikoff's fall, no serious accident occurred. Our desperate situation made us disregard every danger. We climbed up the steepest rocks without ever thinking on death, and with as much indifference as if we had been proceeding along a level road. My only wish was, in case an accident should occur to me, that it might be a decisive one, that my fall might be from such an immense height, as would put a speedy end to my suffering.

Before sunrise on the 30th of April, we proceeded towards the hills, and entered a wood, where we stationed ourselves not far from the road. We dared not kindle a fire, though we should have found it extremely acceptable, for the rain, which still continued with violence, had soaked our clothes completely through. We lay down close to each other, and covered ourselves over with our sails. In the course of the day, my companions ate some portion of their store of provisions, but

I had lost all appetite for food, though I still suffered severely from thirst.

When night set in we again directed our course towards the shore. In all the villages through which we passed we neither found a good boat nor saw any fish laid out to dry. Either the fishing season had not commenced, or the fish had been removed into houses during the night. We saw several horses in the fields, and endeavoured to catch one, but they were all so extremely wild that we found it impossible. This night we descended down the side of a steep hill, for the purpose of proceeding to the shore; we had, however, scarcely got half way, when we found that we were advancing straight upon a village. In the dark we missed the footpath, and mistook a heap of straw for a part of the declivity. We had no sooner set our feet upon it than we rolled down, and unexpectedly found ourselves in front of a house and barn. A dog rushed out upon us, but we calmly proceeded on our way, though we were doubtless observed by two men who came out with lanterns.

We all suffered severely from thirst, and never passed a brook without taking hearty draughts of water. But immediately after I drank water, I felt myself affected with nausea, and the saliva flowed from my mouth. In the course of half an hour, however, I was usually so overcome with thirst, that on hearing the murmuring of a rivulet at a



distance, I promised myself a speedy relief, and redoubled my pace in order to reach it quickly, but as soon as I had taken a draught of water the nausea returned, and I was thus alternately a martyr to thirst and sickness, and could eat nothing.

On the first of May we rested on a declivity, by the side of a rivulet, in a thick wood, near which there was a village built on a sandy point of land. We saw several horsemen and foot passengers cross the stream, on the outside of the wood, and people passing along a road near us.

We were, therefore, obliged to remain the whole day without fire. At night we again departed, but as we met several men with lanterns, we were obliged to hide ourselves behind the trees until they passed by. On approaching close to a village we heard the hours striking, and, of course, were pretty certain that the place had a guard of soldiers, who, as it was not perfectly dark, might discover us: we, therefore, determined to halt. In the meantime we observed a mare tied to a tree, in a meadow near the village. We determined to carry her off, and had already cut the rope, when a foal suddenly sprang up, ran about, and neighed loudly. We found it impossible to catch it, and were obliged to run off and leave the mare behind, lest the noise should alarm the Japanese. We returned a short time afterwards, recollecting that the milk of the mare would be extremely acceptable

to us ; but the sailor, who set about milking her, received so severe a kick, that we thought it prudent to have nothing more to do with her.

When it grew darker we proceeded along the strand, and came close to a village, from which the dogs rushed out upon us. We were afraid lest the barking of these animals should attract the attention of the Japanese, who would immediately have perceived us, and we, accordingly, sat down behind a heap of sand. The dogs then stood still and growled, but no sooner did we attempt to rise than they flew at us, and by their barking compelled us to resume our station. We were thus obliged to remain in the same spot for the space of half an hour, the dogs having by that time left us ; we started up and passed through the village without any further interruption.

Soon after, as we were passing through another village, we observed a boat in the water, close to the shore, and a tent near it. We advanced to inspect the boat, but Schkajeff, hoping to find something eatable in the tent, thrust in his hand, and grasped the head of a man who was sleeping there. The man roared out loudly, and fearing that the noise might alarm the inhabitants of the village, and being, besides, uncertain whether the boat would contain us all, we ran off and concealed ourselves behind some stones. After a short time we dispatched two of our party to take a survey of the boat, but there was a man seated in it, who was

looking round him on every side: we, therefore, thought it best to depart.

Before we reached the other extremity of this village, we observed a large boat which had been dragged ashore as far as the houses. On examination we found that it was well adapted to our purpose, but it was so far from the water that we despaired of getting it afloat, and we therefore proceeded onwards. We soon after discovered, under a shed on the shore, a very large boat: it was without sails\*, but was furnished with every other necessary appurtenance, and had even small buckets, in which we might have laid in a supply of fresh water. The wind and weather were moreover favourable. Unfortunately, however, the boat lay with one side towards the water, and we must consequently have turned it in order to get it afloat, but to accomplish this object we found our strength insufficient. Had either the head or the stern been towards the water we would soon have launched it: and after carrying off a supply of provisions from one of the houses, would have put to sea. But this was impossible; we therefore contented ourselves with merely taking a watering pot which we found in the boat, and which we thought would serve us to drink out of.

The approach of the morning drove us once more among the hills. Day-light, however, sur-

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\* We had sails along with us.

prised us on the side of a barren mountain, covered only, here and there, with a few bushes. We beheld foot-paths on every side, and villages along the shore, as far as our eyes could see. A thick forest, in which we might have concealed ourselves, lay at such a distance, that it would have taken us a long time to reach it, we were, therefore, obliged to lie down under the bushes around us. The day being fine, we dried our clothes, and deliberated on new plans of escape. We were well aware that we could obtain provisions only by forcible means, and that, after having committed violence, we should no longer be in safety, as the Japanese would doubtless redouble their vigilance, and station guards along the coast : all chance, therefore, of getting on board a vessel would have been entirely at an end. We thought it a more adviseable scheme to gain possession of a couple of fishing-boats, which were to be met with at every point along the shore, and to row to a small island covered with wood, which lay between twenty-five and thirty wersts from the coast, and which, when we were at Matsmai we had heard was uninhabited. We might there build a convenient hut, kindle fire when we pleased, and during the day gather, without danger of detection, shell-fish and sea weeds for our support. It would thus be very easy for us to wait until an opportunity presented itself, in calm weather, of boarding a loaded vessel sailing past the island. This was a part of our plan, which we were of opinion could

be executed without difficulty, as during the three days we had been on this part of the coast, we had observed that all vessels and boats passed between the island and the coast of Matsmai, and it appeared always stood near the island; we were besides aware, that in the summer calms very frequently occur in those seas. If this project should fail we still might, during the summer, when the wind is never violent, and almost always blowing from the east, trust to the fishing-boats for carrying us to the coast of Tartary, which is about four hundred and six wersts distant from Matsmai.

But while we were framing plans for our deliverance, an adverse fate was preparing for us. We saw people walking backwards and forwards on the foot-paths by which we were surrounded but it did not appear that we were observed by them. At length, on a hill at some distance, Mr. Chlebnikoff perceived a woman who frequently pointed to the place in which we were, and turned round on every side, beckoning with her hand, as if calling on persons to approach her. We soon understood that these signs concerned us, and we descended into a hollow in the hope of escaping through it into the heart of the forest. Before, however, we reached the bottom of the hollow, we found it suddenly surrounded by men, who hastened to the spot from every side, on foot and on horseback. The moment they discovered us they

raised a frightful cry. Makaroff and I fled to a part covered with bushes, and soon succeeded in getting out of sight ; but we could not venture to move farther off, and lay down to wait for our companions, and observe the number of our enemies, and how they were armed. Our first supposition was, that they were country people ; but, to our astonishment, we found that they were soldiers, headed by an officer on horseback. They were armed with muskets, and bows and arrows, in addition to their sabres and daggers. Our companions were immediately surrounded, and compelled to surrender. From between the bushes we saw the Japanese bind their hands behind their backs, and, after enquiring respecting Makaroff and me, lead them towards the shore.

Meanwhile more Japanese had assembled, and a search for us was commenced. Makaroff now asked how we should proceed. Perhaps, said I, the Japanese may not discover us to day ; and, when it is dark, we may find our way to the shore, get into a boat, row to the uninhabited island, and from thence to the coast of Tartary. But where were our sails, our tea-kettle, our tinder-box, and the knife ! Those things were with our companions, and all had now fallen into the hands of the Japanese. We had only two pikes ; mine mounted with the chissel, and Makaroff's with a small knife. Nevertheless, I proposed to my companion, that, in case we succeeded in eluding the search of the Japanese, we should look out for a

fishing-boat on the coast, and supply ourselves, by force, with whatever was necessary for our expedition. This was resolved upon.

From the thicket in which we sat, we saw soldiers and peasants searching about for us on both sides of the hollow. At length four soldiers advanced into the centre, two armed with sabres, and two with pikes. The rest ranged themselves in rows on each side of the hollow, and held their muskets and bows and arrows in readiness. Those who approached us thrust their pikes into every bush capable of hiding a dog; and, at last, came direct upon the one in which we were concealed. When they had advanced pretty near us, Makaroff, who observed me seizing my pike, entreated, with tears, that I would not attempt to defend myself, or kill any of the Japanese, as such a proceeding might prove highly injurious to the rest of our companions. He further observed, that I might, perhaps, be the means of saving all their lives if I delivered myself up to the Japanese, and declared that as I, who was their commander, had ordered them to attempt their escape, they were bound to do so; lest, they should ever chance to return to Russia, where they would be severely punished for disobedience. These words made so deep an impression on me, that I immediately struck my pike in the ground, rose and stepped out of the bush. Makaroff followed me. The Japanese were filled with amazement at our unexpected appearance. They started

back when they first beheld us, but finding that we were unarmed, they advanced boldly, seized us, bound our hands slightly behind our backs, and conducted us to a village on the shore. Our guards never permitted themselves to offer us the slightest insult or ill-treatment of any kind; on the contrary, when they observed that I limped, and walked with pain, two of the soldiers took me by the arms, and assisted me in ascending the hill, and passing over slippery places. When we arrived at the village, they led us into a house where we found our companions.

Here they gave us *sagi*, boiled rice, salted herrings, radishes, and finally tea. Our hands were then tied behind us; but there was no repetition of the severity which we had experienced at *Kunaschier*. Having spent about an hour in the village, we proceeded along the shore, under a strong escort, on our return to *Matsmai*. We observed that the Japanese had fixed small stakes in the ground, in every place marked by our footsteps, during our nightly wanderings. Where we had turned to ascend the hills they lost all traces of us, but recognised our course again among the sand. It was evident that they had continually followed us\*, but had avoided seizing us lest we might have

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\* We were afterwards informed by the Japanese themselves, that they constantly traced our footsteps, and frequently gained sight of us. They described accurately enough the places at which we had stopped to rest, where we drank water, &c. We could not, however, learn for what reason they did not endeavour to arrest us.



made a desperate resistance, and killed some of their party : perhaps other reasons also induced them to forbear attacking us.

When we passed through villages, the inhabitants flocked from all sides to look at us ; but to the honour of the Japanese it ought to be observed, that not one of them treated us with any thing like derision or mockery ; they all seemed to commiserate us, and some of the women even shed tears whilst they presented us with something to eat or drink. Such was the expression of feeling among a people, whom enlightened Europe has regarded as barbarians ! However, the chief of our escort shewed us none of that benevolent kindness which we had before experienced from other Japanese officers. For instance, we were obliged to walk though we might as well have rode on horseback ; we were not carried across the brooks and rivulets as before, but were desired to wade through them ; and, instead of being provided with umbrellas, mats were thrown over us to protect us from the rain. In several of the villages through which we passed, we expressed a wish to remain for the whole day ; but we were hurried away, after having rested only a short time. We were provided with boiled rice, muscles or herrings, and tea without sugar. We were all excessively fatigued, but I particularly suffered. Owing to the pain in my foot, I could proceed only at a very slow pace ; the chief of the escort, therefore, directed that two

soldiers should support me by the arms, and that they should be regularly relieved in performing that duty. This order was executed with the strictest punctuality. If, during our journey, we complained of thirst, we were permitted to stop and drink water at the first brook we came to. During the night, which was extremely dark, we were led, one behind the other, with the greatest caution, and a lantern was carried before each of us, as well as before the Japanese chief. In addition to this, men bearing lanterns preceded and followed the escort. When we had to ascend, or descend steep hills, a number of country people who accompanied us from the neighbouring villages proceeded before us. Each carried a large bundle of straw; those bundles were laid down at dangerous parts of the road, and when we approached, set on fire; so that we enjoyed, for a moment, a light as bright as day. Had a European viewed, from a distance, our nocturnal procession, he would, doubtless, have supposed he beheld the obsequies of a person of high rank.

On the following day, the 3d of May, as we entered a little village, about ten wersts from Matsmai, we met one of the chief officers of the city, and our interpreter Teske, accompanied by a detachment of imperial soldiers. We immediately halted. The officer said not a word, and manifested neither anger nor displeasure. Teske, however, reproached us for having attempted to

escape, and began to search us. One of the sailors told him, that he might spare himself the trouble since he would find nothing ; upon which he replied, " I know very well that I shall find nothing upon you, but the Japanese laws require that you should be searched." In this village, the officer and soldiers who had taken us put on their state uniforms, over which they threw mantles, because it rained. On coming near the town, however, they took off their mantles, and the order of the procession being arranged, we advanced at a slow pace. The concourse of people was very great. Owing to the rain, all the spectators carried umbrellas over their heads, so that they presented a most singular spectacle. Our escort proceeded in the following order : two guides on each side, bearing wooden staves ; behind them nine soldiers strutting along, with their muskets on their shoulders ; we followed one after the other, guarded on each side by soldiers ; behind us were nine soldiers with muskets, one after the other ; and last of all the officer who arrested us on horseback. He wore a rich silken dress, and looked down on the multitude that lined both sides of the road, like a proud conqueror who had earned laurels, and laid claim to the admiration and gratitude of his countrymen.

We were conducted directly to the castle. Formerly we had been permitted to enter the court-yard with our hats on, but we were now directed to uncover as soon as we reached the gate.

We sat down on benches in the anti-room leading to the Hall of Justice, where boiled rice, pickled raddishes, and tea, without sugar, were handed to us. At length, we were conducted into the Hall of Justice, where, in a few moments, Mr. Moor and Alexei entered, and were directed to station themselves at some distance from us.

All the officers having taken their places, the Bunyo entered. No change was perceptible in his countenance, he maintained his accustomed cheerfulness, and expressed not the slightest displeasure at our conduct. Having taken his seat, he enquired, in his usual benevolent manner, what had induced us to try to escape? I requested the interpreter to state to the Bunyo, that, before I answered his question, I wished to inform him that I alone was guilty, and had forced the rest to fly with me, which they were obliged to do, for a refusal to obey my orders would render them liable to severe punishment should they ever return to Russia. I further declared, that they might put me to death, but that it would be unjust to injure a hair of the head of any of my companions. The Bunyo replied, that if the Japanese thought fit to put me to death, they would do so without any suggestion on my part, but that if, on the contrary, they did not see the necessity of such a proceeding, all my entreaties would be of no avail.

The Bunyo repeated his question—I declared

that we had fled because we saw no probability of our being set at liberty, but that every thing tended to convince us that the Japanese meant to keep us in perpetual imprisonment.—“Who told you that?” said the Bunyo, “I never gave you reason to suppose that your confinement would be eternal.”—“The orders,” I replied, “which were received from the capital, directing that all Russian vessels should be seized, and the preparations which were made in consequence of that order, augured nothing favorable to us.”—Who informed you of that?”—“We learned it from Teske.”—The Bunyo then addressed himself to Teske, but what he said we could not comprehend; we, however, observed, that Teske, during his replies, frequently changed colour.

The Bunyo had hitherto addressed his questions to me alone; but he now asked Mr. Chlebnikoff and the sailors, what motives had induced them to escape?—They replied, that they had merely followed the directions which I, who was their commander, had given them. On hearing this, Mr. Moor laughed, and said they were no more bound to obey my orders than he, and might have remained behind if they had chosen. He called the sailors blockheads, and assured the Japanese that for prisoners to make their escape was a thing unknown in Europe. The Japanese, however, seemed to pay but little attention to what Mr. Moor said, and proceeded to enquire by what

means we had effected our escape. They desired to be informed of every particular, at what hour and in what manner we had left the house; what course we had pursued;\* how far we proceeded each day; what articles and provisions we had carried off with us; and, finally, whether any of our guards or attendants had assisted us in our escape, or whether we had made our intention known to any Japanese whatever. We answered all these questions by a faithful relation of the whole affair.

The Bunyo then wished to know how long we had entertained this resolution, and how long we had imagined it possible to carry it into effect. Mr. Moor now turned towards the sailors, and exhorted them to tell the truth as they would before God, since he had already disclosed every thing to the Japanese. Independently of this admonition, we entertained no design to conceal any circumstance; we, however, observed that, notwithstanding Mr. Moor's exhortations to the sailors, he had not adhered very strictly to the truth in giving an account of our deliberations and plans, nor even in relating the projects which he had himself formed. He had represented that his consent to escape with us was merely a pretence in order that he might detect our plans, and, by disclosing them to the Japanese, perform a service

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\* We were obliged to trace a plan, representing the situation of our house, and that part of the town through which we passed on leaving it.

to the Bunyo. He stated that, as far as regarded himself, he would submit to the will of the Emperor of Japan; if he obtained permission to return to his native country, he would immediately depart; if not, he was ready to remain in Japan. When the Bunyo afterwards inquired who had written a letter, which had been addressed to him, concerning Alexei?—Mr. Moor replied, that he had written it; but, immediately recollecting himself, he added, that he had merely done so in conformity to my orders.—At this answer, the Japanese themselves smiled.

The Bunyo then asked what had been our object in escaping? We replied, that we wished to return to our native country. “But by what means did you expect to execute this design?” “We intended to get on board a large boat, and to sail from Matsmai to the Russian Kurile Islands or to the coast of Tartary.” “Did you not think it probable that, after your escape, orders would be issued for keeping a strict watch on all vessels near the coast?” “Yes, that we expected would be the case; but after a certain time should have elapsed, we hoped to execute our enterprise at some point from whence our escape would be least suspected.”

“You must have observed,” continued the Bunyo, “during your first conveyance hither, as well as during the walks which you were permitted to take, that Matsmai is covered with high hills; you must have been aware of the difficulty of

crossing these hills, and that the populous villages which lie almost close to each other along the shore, must have precluded the possibility of your escaping: the whole plan was indeed ill-contrived and childish." "Notwithstanding this," I replied, "we spent six nights on the coast, and passed through several villages without being perceived. Our enterprise was, indeed, extremely desperate, and to the Japanese may appear childish; we, however, thought otherwise. Our situation was an excuse for any hazardous attempt; we saw no other means of returning to our homes: to waste our lives in eternal imprisonment was the only prospect to which we could look forward, we therefore resolved to perish, either at sea or in the forests of Matsmai."—"It was unnecessary to go to the forests or to the sea to end your lives, you might, if you pleased, have terminated them here!" "That would have been self-murder, but when we risked our lives for the sake of recovering our liberty, we threw ourselves on the protection of Heaven, and might hope to gain our object."

"Suppose you had succeeded, what would you have said of the Japanese when you returned to Russia?" "All that we have seen and heard among them; without either adding or concealing any circumstances whatever."

"Had you returned to Russia without Mr. Moor, your Emperor surely would not have approved of your conduct in leaving one of your



companions behind you." "Had Mr. Moor been in a state of ill-health which rendered him unable to accompany us, notwithstanding his inclination to do so, our conduct would indeed have been most unmanly, but he wished to remain in Japan of his own free will."

"Did you know that, if you had succeeded in your project, the governor and several other officers must have answered for your escape with their lives?"—"We supposed that the guards might, as is the custom in Europe, have suffered some punishment; but we never could have imagined that the Japanese laws were so severe as to condemn innocent men to death."—Here Mr. Moor assured the Bunyo that we were very well aware of the existence of such a law since he had himself explained it to us. We replied that Moor had indeed mentioned something of the kind; but, that our European ideas of Justice, prevented us from giving credit to what he said, and we looked upon it merely as a fabrication which he had invented for the purpose of dissuading us from our design.\*

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\* We actually doubted the existence of this law. We had heard that the Japanese Government dismissed a Bunyo after the attack of the company's ships, notwithstanding the great distance between the coast where the depredations were committed, and the place of his residence, and the little reason he had to suspect such measures on the part of the Russians; but we never could have supposed that the governor and several officers must have forfeited their lives because we made our escape. We were, however, afterwards convinced that such really was the law.

“Is there,” inquired the Bunyo, “any European law by which prisoners are justified in making their escape?”—“There is no written law to that effect; but when a prisoner has not pledged his parole of honour, he is never considered culpable in making his escape.”—Upon this, Mr. Moor made some observations, calculated to render our answer ridiculous, and he even assured the Japanese that we had made a false assertion. We called to his recollection, the cases of General Beresford, Colonel Pack, Sir Sydney Smith, and other individuals; who, within our own recollection, had escaped from imprisonment without any disgrace being attached to them; but Mr. Moor continued his forced laughter, and even said that no such examples had ever existed.

The Bunyo then delivered a long speech, the substance of which, according to the translation of our interpreter was as follows: “Had you been natives of Japan, and secretly escaped from your prison, the consequence might have been fatal to you; but as you are foreigners and ignorant of the Japanese laws, and more particularly as you did not escape with a view to injure the Japanese, but for the sake of returning to your native country, which it is natural you should prefer to every other, our good opinion of you remains unaltered. The Bunyo cannot be answerable for the way in which the government may view your conduct; but he will still continue to exert all his endeavours to gain permission for you to return to

Russia. Until your case be decided according to the Japanese laws ; the sailors must be confined in a prison : but you officers will be lodged in *Inweraris*.”\*

When the Bunyo had concluded his speech he withdrew, and we were conducted into the anti-chamber. We had hitherto been guarded by imperial soldiers whom we did not know, and who were under the command of the officer who arrested us. That officer entered the anti-chamber, accompanied by a magistrate named NAGAKAWA-MATATARO, who was the fourth in rank next to the governor, and whose office was that of a judge in criminal matters. The officer having delivered us over to his custody, he immediately ordered the soldiers who had accompanied us to retire, and our old acquaintances, the Matsmai soldiers entered in their stead. Matataro then directed them to bind Mr. Chlebnikoff and me as Japanese officers are bound, and the sailors like common people.† This being done, we were conducted, between five and six o'clock, to a place of imprisonment situated about a half or three quarters of a werst from the castle. It rained, but the multitude of persons, all carrying umbrellas, who assembled to see us was immense.

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\* *Ro* is the Japanese word signifying prison ; what is meant by an *Inwerari*, I shall soon have occasion to explain.

† The Japanese bind their officers by fastening a rope round their waists, and tying their hands down by their sides, so that they cannot move them. They tie the hands of common people behind them, as we were bound when in Kunashier.

## CHAPTER II.

THE city prison was situated at the foot of a steep rock, and was surrounded by two wooden fences, and an earthen wall surmounted by *chevaux-de-frise*. Within the inner fence, we beheld a large gloomy building, similar to that in which we had been confined when we first arrived at Matsmai, excepting that there were here four cages, one of which was tolerably large, and the other three small. On reaching this prison, the head gaoler, who was named KESEESKEE,\* unbound us one after the other, and searched us from head to foot, making us strip to our shirts; having searched me first, he directed me to enter the smallest of the four cages;† Mr. Chlebnikoff was put into the next cage, which was somewhat larger and lighter than mine. The third cage was occupied by a Japanese prisoner, and the sailors were all shut up

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\* In Japan, the gaoler is equal in rank to an imperial soldier. He is privileged to wear a sword and dagger. Besides his office of keeper of the prison, he is the executioner, and inflicts all kinds of punishment on criminals. We observed that his countrymen conversed and joked with him; but that they would never eat with him, nor smoke tobacco in the same room where he was; they even avoided lighting their pipes at the same fire where he had lighted his.

† It was six paces in length, five in breadth, and about ten feet high.

together in the fourth, which was the largest of all, and from its situation by far the best.\*

We were still unable to guess what the Governor meant when he told us that the sailors would be confined in a real prison, but that we should live in *Inceraris*; for we now found that our accommodation was considerably worse than theirs. We afterwards learned that the difference consisted in Mr. Chlebnikoff and myself having separate cells, whilst the sailors were confined in one; but this was a favour on which we were not inclined to set much value. Our cages, however, stood close to each other, so that Mr. Chlebnikoff and I could converse without difficulty. The Japanese prisoner began to discourse with Mr. Chlebnikoff; he told him his name, and said that he should be set at liberty in six days. He handed him a piece of salt fish; in return for which Mr. Chlebnikoff gave him a white cravat.† Mr. Chlebnikoff shared the piece of fish with me, and we were both so hungry, that we looked upon it as a delicacy.

Late in the evening, our old attendant Fok-Masse, accompanied by two other servants, brought us our supper, which consisted of thin boiled rice.

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\* It was the best, because it was most exposed to the light and the fresh air; besides, many external objects were visible from it, whereas, nothing whatever was to be seen from mine.

† Keeseeskee accidentally saw this cravat, and having inquired from whence it came, carried it away, and shewed it to some of his superiors, who ordered it to be deposited along with the rest of our clothes.

two small pieces of pickled radish for each of us, and warm water to drink. Fok-Masse appeared out of humour; he answered our questions roughly, but never offered to reproach us on the subject of our escape.\* After I had finished my meal, the Japanese handed an old night-gown through the railings of my cage; they likewise gave some things to my companions. The door of our prison was now closed, and we were enveloped in total darkness, for the spars which formed the front railing and divided the whole from the guard-room, were closed up with boards, so that there was no aperture through which the light could penetrate to our cages. After sunset the guards came every half hour with lanterns to inspect our cages, and they even woke us from our sleep to make us answer their calls. During summer, the night hours† are extremely short with the Japanese, so

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\* We at first supposed that Fok-Masse was to attend on us as before, but we soon found that this was not the case, and that he had merely brought two lads with him in order to shew them the proper mode of attending on us, and teaching them the Russian names of the most necessary things. There was, however, no occasion for this, as we could express our wants distinctly enough in Japanese.

† The Japanese divide the day into twelve hours, reckoning six from sunrise to sunset, and an equal number from sunset to sunrise; consequently the hours are not always equal; when the day is longer than the night, the day hours are the longest, and when the night is longer than the day, the night hours are the longest. To measure time, they employ a small beam of wood, the upper part of which is covered with glue and whitewashed; a nar-

that they were everlastingly disturbing us, and we were not allowed to enjoy a moments repose.

On the 4th of May, at daybreak, an officer opened the doors of our cages, and called us all by our names. At noon, we were conducted before the Bunyo, with our hands bound in the same way as before. On arriving at the castle, we were ordered to sit down in the anti-chamber of the Hall of Justice, and in a few moments Mr. Moor

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row groove is made in the glue and filled with a vegetable powder which burns very slowly ; on each side of this groove, at certain distances, there are holes formed for the purpose of nails being put into them. By these holes, the length of the day and night hours is determined for the space of six months, from the spring to the winter equinox. During the other six months the rule is inverted, the day becoming night hours, and the night day hours. The Japanese ascertain the length of a day hour, and mark it off with nails ; they then fill the groove with powder, set light to it at noon, and thus measure their time. The beam is kept in a box, which is laid in a dry place ; but the changes of weather have, notwithstanding, a great influence on this kind of time-keeper.

The Japanese day begins at midnight, at which time the clock strikes *nine*, after having given three strokes, as it were to denote the being about to strike. These three strokes precede every hour. One hour after midnight, the clock strikes *eight*, the next hour *seven*, at sunrise *six*, then *five* and *four*, and at noon again *nine*. One hour after midday *eight*, two hours after midday *seven*, at sunset *six*, then *five*, and finally *four*. At midnight the new day commences. The hours are struck in the following manner: first, one stroke ; in a minute and a half, a second stroke, and immediately a third. These three warning strokes announce that the hour is about to be struck. In the space of a minute and a half after, the striking of the hour begins. The strokes succeed each other at intervals of fifteen seconds, except the two last, which follow more rapidly, as if to notify that the hour is struck.

and Alexei passed by us, and were conducted into the Hall.

After a short time, Mr. Chlebnikoff and I were unbound, though the ropes were left round our waists; the sailors had merely their hands, and not their elbows loosened. Mr. Moor and Alexei were not bound in any way. We were then led into the Hall of Justice. When the Bunyo had taken his seat, he repeated many of his old questions, respecting which he now, however, merely required explanations. He then asked me what I thought of my conduct, and whether I supposed I had acted justly or unjustly towards the Japanese?—The Japanese, I replied, have driven us to the course we adopted: they first of all treacherously seized us, and then refused to credit the statement we made, or to hold any communication with our ships, in case they should come on the part of our Government to confirm our declarations. What were we then to do? The circumstances of our case fully justify our conduct. The Governor expressed astonishment at what I said. “Your seizure,” said he, “is an old affair, which ought not to be spoken of now. I merely ask, whether you consider yourselves guilty or innocent.—If you declare yourselves not guilty, I can, by no means, represent your case favourably to the Emperor.” I immediately perceived, that he wished us all to acknowledge that we were guilty; and, I replied, that were we in a situation to be



fairly tried, I could urge many circumstances in our justification—but we were in the power of the Japanese.—They might judge of our conduct as they pleased ; but I alone should be considered guilty, since my companions had acted in conformity to my orders.

The Bunyo appeared satisfied with this declaration ; he observed, that it was praiseworthy to take the blame upon myself, for the sake of justifying my countrymen ; but that obedience to my commands could only be urged in exculpation of the sailors ; that Mr. Chlebnikoff was an officer himself, and ought to have known that he was bound to obey my orders only whilst on board our ship, and not during his imprisonment. Then, turning to Mr. Chlebnikoff, he inquired whether he was ready to acknowledge himself guilty. Far from making any such acknowledgement, Mr. Chlebnikoff began to justify our conduct, and to prove that we could not be condemned by any rule either of equity or humanity. At this the Japanese appeared irritated, and repeated that they could not make their Emperor acquainted with declarations of that kind. Finally, partly by persuasion, and partly by menaces, they induced us to admit that we had done wrong, and that our conduct could in no way operate to our advantage. With this confession they seemed perfectly satisfied.

The Bunyo then dismissed us, ordering

Mr. Moor and Alexei to remain behind. I must here observe, that on my complaining that the severe pain in my foot scarcely permitted me to stand upright, the Bunyo desired a seat to be placed for me, and permitted me to sit during the whole of the examination. When we quitted the Hall of Justice, our hands were again bound, and we were conducted back to prison in the usual way. On entering my cell, I found my old worn out night-gown taken away, and the wadded one which had been formerly given me, together with my coverlet, substituted in its stead; my companions had likewise been provided for in the same manner during their absence.

We were now treated in all respects like criminals; no distinction was observed between us and the Japanese prisoner who was in the adjacent cage. We, indeed, thought this treatment extremely severe; yet, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that the Japanese laws respecting criminals, are far more humane than those of most, I might perhaps say of all, European nations. We were now confined in a real prison, in the same place with a criminal! I shall describe our treatment, leaving to the reader to institute what comparisons he may think fit,

I have already mentioned the cages in which we were confined. They were kept extremely clean, and even the lobby was swept every day by our attendants. When we were conducted to the

castle, our cages were cleaned out, and our coverlets and night-dresses aired in the sun during our absence. Food was brought to us every morning, noon, and evening. At each meal we received thick boiled rice instead of bread. It was dealt out to us in portions which were more than sufficient for Mr. Chlebnikoff and me; but the sailors found the allowance scanty enough \* at the commencement of their imprisonment, when their appetites were keen, owing to the great fatigue and privations they had endured. In addition to the rice, we were served with soup made of sea-cabbage and other wild plants, such as sweet cabbage, wild garlic, and water angelica; to which, for the sake of rendering it savoury, pickled beans (Japanese *misso*) and some pieces of whale fat were added. In the evening, we occasionally received, instead of soup, two pieces of salt fish, with pickled wild cabbage. Our drink consisted of warm water, which was brought to us as often as we wished. If we happened to ask for drink during the night, our guards, without a murmur, called up the servants, and ordered them to bring us water. At first we were not allowed to have combs, and in order that we might have water to wash ourselves with, we were obliged to reserve a part

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\* Mr. Chlebnikoff and I being unable to eat all that was given us, we sent the remainder of our allowance to the sailors, and the attendants very willingly conveyed it to them; but Keeseeskee at length observed what we did, and was cruel enough to forbid it.

of that which was given us to drink. We were, however, after some time, provided with a comb, which seemed to have been intended for a prison, as the teeth were extremely small, probably to prevent the prisoners from doing themselves any injury with it.

On many occasions the Japanese shewed particular attention to us in other respects. One night a violent earthquake took place ; our prison shook, and we heard a great tumult in the yard, and in the streets. Our guards immediately came to us with lanterns, and desired us not to be alarmed, informing us that it was only an earthquake, which was a very common occurrence in Japan, but was seldom attended with danger. They, probably, did this of their own accord ; for, to the honour of the Japanese, I must declare, that many of them treated us with great kindness, and did all they could to afford us consolation. One in particular, named Gooiso, frequently brought us refreshments unperceived by his comrades : he sometimes desired us to ask for water, and to keep the vessel beside us ; then, having watched for a favourable opportunity, he would throw away the water, and fill the vessel with tea in its stead. We experienced similar kindness from two other guards ; but a soldier, who had been one of the inner guard on the night of our escape, presented the most striking example of humanity. He had accompanied the detachment which was sent in

pursuit of us ; but not in the rank of a soldier , as on account of his neglect, he was degraded to that of a common servant. From the moment of our arrest, until our arrival in Matsmai, he never quitted us. His loose hair, unshaven beard, and pale countenance, sufficiently indicated the grief of which we were the cause ; yet he saluted us kindly the first moment he beheld us ; and, far from testifying the least hatred or ill-will, made every exertion to serve us during the journey, though these attentions were in no way connected with his duty. The generosity and nobleness of his conduct often moved us to tears.

A day or two\* after our last conference with the Bunyo, I was conducted alone to the castle, where the two officers next in rank questioned me in the presence of several others. Before I entered the hall, Teske came to me and said, that Mr. Moor was much exasperated against us, and had said many things to our disadvantage. He, however, added, that I need give myself no uneasiness about it, since the Japanese were not inclined to believe what Mr. Moor said. He, moreover, informed me that Mr. Moor had offered to enter the Japanese service. It therefore, before the officers began their interrogatories, requested

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\* About this time we were not visited either by the interpreter or the physician, although the sailors repeatedly requested that the latter might attend them ; the orderly officers alone came occasionally to visit us.

that they would permit me to state my sentiments freely, and that they would direct the interpreter to translate what I should say as faithfully as possible. The officers replied, that they were very ready to hear whatever I might wish to communicate to them. I then asked them, whether, supposing three Japanese officers should be made prisoners in any part of the world, they would be well pleased to find that one of the three had conducted himself as Mr. Moor had done? They laughed, and said, certainly not. The eldest of the officers at last remarked, that I had nothing to fear on that ground, for all Russians were alike to the Japanese, and they only wanted to be made acquainted with the real circumstances of the case. According to the Japanese laws, added he, nothing can be done with precipitation; though you are now in a prison, when the new Bunyo comes, a better place of abode, and even a house will be allotted to you; and I have reason to believe that the Government will send you back to Russia. They then asked very earnestly whether, as the Kuriles had assured them, it was true that Resanoff had participated in the attacks of the company's ships, by first giving to Chwostoff orders for that aggression, which, though afterwards withdrawn, were ultimately followed by Chwostoff. It was easy to conjecture who the Kurile was who had given this information; it was no other than Mr. Moor. I replied, that I did not know, precisely, whether or

not Resanoff had taken any part in the affair, but that a report prevailed of his having intended to attack the Japanese.

The officers then referred to a manuscript spread out before them, and asked a great number of questions concerning our navigation, the object of the expedition, the situation of Russia, and its political relations with other European states, particularly with France. I perceived that they derived all their information from the same source, and found it frequently necessary to correct the erroneous notions they had imbibed.

This unpleasant business being over, the elder of the officers again assured me, that I had nothing to fear; that the Japanese were as just as other nations, and, therefore, would not act basely with regard to us. With this consolatory assurance I was dismissed. On returning to the prison, I related to Mr. Chlebnikoff all that had passed.

We were shortly afterwards visited by the officer Nagatawa-Matataro, accompanied by the two interpreters. They brought along with them copies of our declarations, in order to read them over, and verify them. We perceived that our statements concerning the way in which we had procured the knife, and obtained information of the orders given for attacking the Russian vessels, and for dispatching troops and cannon to Kuna-shier, were all struck out; and the officers informed us, that we must say nothing more on those

subjects in the presence of the Bunyo.\* They, doubtless, wished to screen the Japanese who were implicated in the affair. We had been much distressed at the idea of any evil befalling either Teske or the innocent soldiers and attendants, through whose negligence we had obtained the knife, and were consequently very well pleased with this proposal. But we could not so readily agree to what they next required; and a warm dispute arose, in the course of which Matataro, according to custom, flew into a rage, reproached, and even threatened us. They proposed that we should justify Mr. Moor, by declaring that his consent to escape was a mere pretence, and that he had never mentioned to Simanoff and Wassiljeff that he was ready to join us in the attempt. To this we would not assent, and even positively refused to contradict any of the statements which we had before made on the subject of Mr. Moor. We observed, that whatever that officer's real intentions might be, his declarations certainly bore the appearance of sincerity, and that we were convinced he would have escaped along with us, had not cowardice prevented him. We had very good reasons for not assisting him in extricating himself from the

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\* These omissions shew that great strictness was not observed with regard to placing our declarations on record, but the evidence was, in this case, suppressed for the purpose of saving innocent persons from punishment.—Such garbling is, I am afraid, never exercised for so good an object with us.



affair, and I think it necessary to state them, lest the reader should accuse us of revenge, and a wish to injure him.

I have already mentioned that Mr. Moor endeavoured to convince the Japanese that he was a German, and not a Russian. Had we asserted that he had no participation in our plans, the Japanese would probably have sent him in a Dutch ship to Germany, his pretended native country, whence he might easily have proceeded to Russia. He might then, without fear of contradiction, have related a tale of his own contrivance, declared his conduct to be the effect of ill-treatment which he had received from us, and thus, for ever, have branded the recollection of our names. This idea was constantly present to our minds, and we resolved not to depart in the slightest degree from the truth for the sake of justifying Mr. Moor. If our testimony could have been the means of procuring for him the situation of chief officer in Japan, instead of bringing about his return to Europe, we would readily have agreed to any thing, though he had endeavoured to injure us by all possible means.\* Matataro visited us for three

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\* I will merely mention the following circumstance. When we were searched at Kunashier, the Japanese took from me a pocket-book. I shortly afterwards recollected that among many other things, the names of Daydoff and Chwostoff were written down in this book, and I consulted with Mr. Moor and Mr. Chlebnikoff on what I should say, if the Japanese demanded an explanation of that memorandum. We then regarded each other as

or four successive days, and urged us to contradict what we had before said of Mr. Moor ; but finding our resolution unalterable, he at length desisted from his useless persuasion. We are ignorant whether or not any alteration was made in our testimony in this respect.

I was now afraid that Mr. Moor would, by his artifice, at last succeed in so far conciliating the Japanese, as to gain permission to return to Russia, where his misrepresentations might brand our names with eternal disgrace. This horrible reflection filled me with despair, and brought on a serious indisposition. For the space of a week or ten days no physician appeared, though the sailors had long before applied for medical attendance ; but the Japanese at length took compassion on us, and sent a physician daily. So little did I value life, that I concealed the real cause of my illness, and took medicine which instead of operating beneficially, had quite a contrary effect. Notwithstanding the weak state to which I was reduced, I insisted that the physician should bleed me.\* With

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brothers, we were animated by one spirit and one heart ! Mr. Moor had, however, since told the Japanese that the names of Davydoff and Chwostoff were inserted in my pocket-book, and that they were, moreover, my friends. Teske informed us of this circumstance, and observed, that we need be apprehensive of no ill consequences, since, as he expressed himself, Mr. Moor had unnecessarily communicated the affair to the Japanese. In fact, no questions were ever asked on this subject.

\* He would not consent until he had obtained the Governor's permission.

a trembling hand he proceeded to open a vein, but his courage failed him, and he was unable to perform the operation. Much as I had suffered, my constitution, which was naturally vigorous, and improved by the habits of my life from youth upwards, successfully resisted the pernicious operation of the medicine. To the honour of the worthy Bunyo, Arrao-Madsimano-Kami, I must observe, that when he suspected the real cause of my illness, he sent Nagakawa-Matataro to assure me that the Japanese would not act with severity towards us ; that on the arrival of the new Bunyo, we should be removed to a better place of residence, and that both Bunyos would then exert all their influence to obtain our liberation. In interpreting this message, Kumaddscherro was so deeply moved, that he melted into tears ; and though I doubted the sincerity of the Japanese, yet this assurance afforded me some consolation.

We were now supplied with better food : we were frequently treated with a kind of pudding, which the Japanese call tufa ; fine beans were boiled with our rice, forming a dish which is considered a great delicacy in Japan ; even chicken soup was given us on one or two occasions ; and for our drink we had always tea instead of water. This change was a consequence of an order of the Bunyo, and obtained through Teske's intercession.

During our confinement in the city prison, a circumstance occurred which I cannot pass over in

silence:—Our neighbour, the Japanese, who remained with us much longer than the six days which he told us would terminate his imprisonment, underwent the punishment to which he had been adjudged, in the court-yard.\* We heard his cries. On the same day an officer, with the criminal Judge, Matataro, and the interpreter Kumaddschero, came, by order of the Governor, to say, that we must not suppose, in consequence of the execution of the sentence on this criminal, that a similar fate awaited us ; for, according to the Japanese laws, no foreigner could be condemned to suffer corporeal punishment. We looked upon this assurance as merely intended to console us ; but we afterwards learnt, that a law to this effect really exists ; and that the only foreigners to whom its protection does not extend, are those who attempt to induce Japanese subjects to em-

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\* The crime which this man had committed was as follows:—Having visited a public bathing house, he changed his old clothes, as if by mistake, for a better suit belonging to some other individual. He was several times conveyed before a Judge, with his hands tied behind his back. At length, he received twenty-five stripes, and the same punishment was repeated after the lapse of three days. What instrument was used in the infliction of this chastisement we know not, but we distinctly heard the stripes, and the cries of the offender. He returned with his back naked and bloody to prison. The attendants spat on his shoulders and rubbed the saliva over the lacerated parts, and thus cured him. His hands were afterwards marked, to shew that he had been punished, and he was then sent to the northern Kurile Islands, in the possession of the Japanese.

brace Christianity. The laws are extremely rigorous against teachers of the Christian religion.\*

In the middle of June, we were carried twice every day before the Bunyo, in whose presence, and that of several officers, our depositions were read, and our opinion asked with respect to their correctness. Every circumstance that might have tended to criminate the Japanese, was carefully omitted, and, in conformity with our promise, we made no allusion to them. When, however, Mr. Moor's declaration was read, we made no

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\* The Japanese are not followers of foreign religions. They give, however, full liberty to a variety of sects, besides permitting the public profession of even the Kurile religion; but they are quite intolerant to Christianity, on account of the troubles it has occasioned among them. The Catholic priests, who formerly lived in Japan and enjoyed every possible freedom, preached the Christian faith, and converted a great number of the natives; but, at last, the progress of the new religion gave rise to a dreadful civil war. For this reason, after the complete extirpation of the Christians, the following inscription was placed at the head of the stone tablets of laws, which are fixed up in all public places, and even in the streets:—"Whoever knows any individual who has taught Christianity, and can convict him thereof, shall receive a reward of five hundred silver pieces."—There is, likewise, a law which prohibits masters from hiring servants, until they receive from them a written assurance of their not being Christians. In Nangasaky, where Christianity had made the greatest progress, there is a staircase, on the steps of which are laid various ornaments and utensils of the Catholic church, and on the first step a crucifix. On new-year's day, all the inhabitants of Nangasaky are obliged to ascend these steps; and, as a proof that they are not Christians, trample on the articles. The interpreter assured us, that many Christians who live at Nangasaky comply with this regulation from interested motives.

hesitation to contradict several of his assertions. He protested that he was entirely blameless, and declared that he had never persuaded the sailors to attempt their escape. On hearing this, Schkajeff exclaimed, Think on Heaven and your conscience, *Feodor Feodorowitsch!* Can you ever hope to return to Russia? Mr. Chlebnikoff and I desired him to be silent; but these few words made a deep impression on Mr. Moor, and we paid dearly for them, as will appear in the sequel. The Japanese, who observed our disagreement, took upon themselves the task of correcting our depositions, and dismissed us.

The new Bunyo, OGA-SAWARA-ISSENO-KAMI, arrived at Matsmai on the 29th of June, and on the 2d of July we were conducted to the castle. We found assembled in the Hall of Justice all the officers who were usually present at our examinations, together with Mr. Moor and Alexei. On my entering the hall, Mr. Moor addressed me, and said, that we had no reason to fear, as all was going on well. When we had waited about half an hour, the two Bunyos appeared, with their suites. They were each preceded by an officer. The new Bunyo was the oldest man of the two,\*

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\* In Japan the situation of Bunyo is always filled by noblemen, who are called *Chadamodo*, and are the principal personages in the empire, next to the princes who govern principalities (*Damyo*). The precedence of these noblemen depends on the services and antiquity of their families, according to which, also, they are appointed to posts of honour. This arrangement somewhat resembles

and in his suite there were two officers more than in that of the late Bunyo. He entered first, and having taken his seat, the old Bunyo seated himself on his right. The Japanese testified their respect to him in their usual way, and we bowed after the European fashion. The old Bunyo then pointing to his colleague, observed, that he, OGA-SAWARA-ISSENO-KAMI, was the new Bunyo, appointed to relieve him, and desired us to tell him our names and ranks. We did so with a bow, which he returned by smiling and nodding his head. The old Bunyo then directed an officer to bring in a roll of paper, which, he said, had been written by Mr. Moor, who called it a Memoir. He desired us to read it, and then to say whether we approved of its contents. The two Bunyos then retired, and left us to deliver our opinion to the officers. Mr. Moor himself read his paper; in which, after many compliments to both Bunyos, he described all the plans we had formed for our escape, such as they really were. He asserted

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the practice which prevailed in Russia before regular troops were introduced. The new Governor was several years older than his predecessor. He was seventy-four and the other fifty; but they both appeared much younger than they really were, which is generally the case with the Japanese. The new Bunyo looked like a giant among the Japanese; he was as tall as our sailors. His countrymen looked upon him as a wonder. Before his arrival, they often told us that a giant was coming, and that we should see there were people in Japan as tall as the Russians. We, besides, saw an officer in the service of the Prince of Nambu, who would have been considered a tall man even in Europe.

that his agreeing to escape with us was a mere pretence ; construed all we had said in a way calculated to injure us in the opinion of the Japanese ; explained the object of our voyage, and minutely described the situation of eastern Russia, and the political relations between France and Russia after the peace of Tilsit. In conclusion, he entreated that the Japanese would pardon us.

Having heard the paper to an end, we began to contradict all that was not conformable to truth ; but of this the Japanese expressed their disapprobation, and declared that we had no right to dispute with Mr. Moor. I replied, that if they were resolved to give full credit to Mr. Moor's declarations, it would be of no use for us to say any thing on the subject, as there were no witnesses to decide between us. Mr. Chlebnikoff, however, still wished to contradict some statements in the paper, but the Japanese became irritated, and he desisted. We, however, resolved not to sign Mr. Moor's declaration in case the Japanese should require us so to do ; but no such proposal was made.

The two Bunyos now entered, and one of the officers informed them that the paper had been read to us ; but what he stated, as our opinion of it, we could not understand. The new Bunyo then drew from his bosom a letter, folded in the European manner, which he handed to his predecessor. The latter delivered it to one of the officers, who gave it to the interpreter, and it was at last handed



to me. The Russian superscription was as follows :  
“ **TO THE GOVERNOR OF MATSMAI.**” Within the cover was a paper containing the following words, with a French translation.

“ The proximity of Russia and Japan, renders it desirable that friendly and commercial relations should be established between them, which could not fail to operate to the advantage of the inhabitants of the latter empire. With this view an embassy was dispatched to Nangasaky. But the offensive and repulsive answer given by the Japanese to the proposals made to them, and the extension of their trade to the Kurile Islands and Sagaleen, which are Russian possessions, render it at last necessary for the Emperor of Russia to adopt measures which may prove his power to injure the trade of the Japanese, until the Russians be informed, by the inhabitants of Oorooop or Sagaleen, that the Japanese are ready to enter into commercial relations with them. The Russians intend, by resorting to these mild measures against Japan, merely to demonstrate that the northern parts of that empire are entirely at their mercy, and that the obstinacy of the Japanese Government in opposing all intercourse, must, if persisted in, terminate in the loss of these countries.”

This paper had neither date nor signature, and contained no indication of the authority under which it had been sent to Japan. We, therefore,

endeavoured to prove, and in this instance Mr. Moor supported us, that Chwostoff had been the author of it ; adding, that we were ready to declare upon oath, that our Government had no knowledge of the affair, though the writer pretended to speak of measures which the Emperor of Russia was to adopt. Even the anonymous nature of the document proved that it had never issued from our Government. Mention was, besides, made of the inhabitants of Ooroop, one of the Kurile Islands, which had long been uninhabited. This circumstance was well known to our Government, and so glaring an error could, therefore, never have crept into an official document. The Japanese having paid attention to our explanations, the new Bunyo observed, that he did not mean to inquire whether the paper had been forged, or whether it had been sent to Japan by order of the Russian Government ; he merely wished to be made acquainted with its contents, in order that he might communicate them to his Emperor. We immediately gave him a verbal translation, and Mr. Moor drew up a written one. They then shewed us two documents which Chwostoff had presented to the inhabitants of Sagaleen along with the medals. The contents of these two papers perfectly corresponded with the preceding, so that we were not required to translate them.

In conclusion, the new Bunyo informed us, that in a short time we should be removed to a

new place of abode ; and that our condition would be, in all respects, ameliorated. The two Bunyos then withdrew, and we were conveyed back to prison.

From this day a visible change took place in the Japanese, who attended us. They became much more friendly and civil than before. Teske informed us that after our escape, Mr. Moor and Alexei had been removed to our first place of confinement in Matsmai, which was now again preparing for us. A separate apartment was fitting up \* for Mr. Moor and Alexei, and we could not be removed until that was completed. Teske, besides, assured us that, at the farewell audience of the new Governor, the Emperor ordered him to take the greatest care of our healths, and after his arrival at Matsmai, to do every thing to render our situation comfortable.

In the meanwhile, a circumstance occurred which displayed in the strongest light the kind-heartedness and generosity of our interpreter Teske. When I landed at Kunashier, I had accidentally, in my pocket, the rough copy of a letter which I had been preparing with the view of sending it to the Japanese in case of their still declining any intercourse with us. In this letter I up-

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\* We at first supposed that the Japanese intended to confine us separately, but we afterwards found that they entertained no such design. Mr. Moor had, however, urgently requested that a separate place might be assigned to him and Alexei.

braided them with their cowardly conduct in firing upon unarmed men, and even held out several threats to them. I added, that without the consent of our Government, no officer could adopt measures of hostility even in self-defence ; and that this circumstance, and not fear, made me refrain from resenting their baseness. The latter observations might be considered as explaining our sentiments, but the first part could not fail to wound the pride of the haughty Japanese. Mr. Moor knew that I had the letter, and informed the Japanese of its contents. It had been preserved along with the rest of our things, and being produced, Teske was ordered to translate it. Mr. Moor explained every syllable to Teske ; but the latter, observing that many words, and even whole sentences were struck out, turned this circumstance to our advantage, by omitting all expressions which might give offence to the Japanese Government, and translating only such as tended to justify us ; the rest he declared could not be deciphered. It would not have been in his power to have done this, had I written out a clean copy of the letter.

On the 9th of July we were again carried before the two Bunyos. The new Bunyo told us that since we had escaped merely in the hope of returning to our native country, and not with the view of injuring the Japanese, he had resolved, with the consent of his predecessor, to better our situation ; trusting that we would not make any such attempt

again, but patiently await the decision of the Japanese Emperor. He added, that they would both employ all the interest they possessed to obtain our freedom. He had no sooner uttered these words, than the ropes with which we were bound were taken off; the soldiers who were stationed behind us had, without our knowledge, loosened them and disposed them in such a way that they could remove them in an instant.

The old Bunyo assured us, that his friendship for us continued unabated, and that he would take the same interest in our fate as he had hitherto done. He then wished us good health, and took his leave, exhorting us to pray to God, and to trust to his mercy.

The Bunyos having withdrawn, we left the castle.

## CHAPTER III.

INSTEAD of being conveyed back to the city prison, we were carried to our old residence the *Oksio*, which was assigned to us on our first arrival at Matsmai. Mr. Chlebnikoff, myself, and the sailors were confined together, but for Mr. Moor and Alexei an additional apartment had been built, to which there was a separate entrance from the courtyard. Our change of residence was accompanied with an improvement in our diet. The articles of food, which were brought us, were better than those which had been formerly given us at the same place. We were supplied with a cup of *sagi* \* every day, and furnished with pipes and to-

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\* The oldest of our servants, who acted as our butler, was called *Yeske*. This man, who was extremely fond of strong liquors, laid it down as a maxim, that to drink seldom, but heartily when at it, was better than to tipple frequently and in small quantities. Accordingly, instead of giving us one cup of *sagi* regularly each day, he supplied us with two cups at once; but he never neglected to help himself abundantly at all times, and was, consequently, intoxicated almost every evening. At length the guards discovered from what source he derived constant supplies for his inebriety, and considered it an occasion for interposing their authority. After this *Yeske* no longer made free with our *sagi*, but waited till we thought fit to share it with him.

bacco pouches filled with very good tobacco. A kettle with tea was constantly standing on our hearth. We were allowed to have combs, hand-towels and even curtains to keep off the flies which are here very numerous. In addition to all these favours the Japanese sent us our books, and provided us with ink and paper. We now collected Japanese words and wrote them down in the Russian character. At length it occurred to us that we might learn to write Japanese. We requested that the interpreter Kumaddschero would make out an alphabet for us; but this he declined doing until he obtained the permission of his superiors. He afterwards told us that the Japanese laws prohibited the teaching Christians to read and write their language; and that, consequently, his superiors would not permit him to write the alphabet for us. We were, therefore, obliged to content ourselves with making lists of Japanese words written in the Russian character.

We were separated from Mr. Moor only by a thin wooden partition. I asked Teske whether we might speak to him. Certainly, replied he, converse as much as you please; nobody will hinder you. When I first spoke to Mr. Moor, I received no answer; but he soon agreed to our proposal of addressing a letter of thanks to the old Bunyo. previously to his departure. This letter was written, and in it many compliments were likewise paid to the new Bunyo. We observed, "that fate,

in ordaining we should become the prisoners of the Japanese; had, to our good fortune, singled out the period when **ARRAO-MADSIMANO-KAMI** was invested with the government of Matsmai." The Bunyo, on reading Teske's translation of the letter, laughed at this passage, and inquired whether we supposed that any other Japanese nobleman, in the like situation, would not have treated us with equal kindness.

On the 14th of July, the old Bunyo departed from Matsmai, taking along with him our friend Teske in the quality of secretary. Teske promised to write from the capital to inform us in what state our case stood, requested that we would not fail to reply to him, and desired us to give our letters to Kumaddscherö to be forwarded. We did not expect, for some time, to hear any thing decisive from the capital, knowing that the Governor would not arrive there in less than twenty-three or twenty-five days, \* but we daily hoped to hear of the ar-

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\* The Japanese cross the Straits of Sangar from Matsmai to a well sheltered bay near the city of Mimayu. The length of the passage is about thirteen Japanese rees (about fifty-two wersts), and as they never undertake it except with a favourable wind, they are in general only a few hours at sea. Mimayu is about two hundred rees, or eight hundred wersts from Yeddo. Persons of distinction travel in litters or sedan chairs, and the common people on horseback. A great number of men are, therefore, always kept at the post stations. The Japanese assured us that the litter-bearers, from long experience, proceed with so much steadiness, that if a glass of water was placed in the litter, not a drop would



rival of Russian ships, though we sometimes doubted whether the Japanese would tell us either when they arrived or what was the object of their visit.

Meanwhile we passed our time in smoking tobacco, reading over again our old books, and collecting and recording Japanese words. I began to note down, on small slips of paper, all our adventures, interspersed with my own observations. In doing this, I wrote only half sentences and arbitrary signs, and mingled Russian, French, and English words together, in such a way, that none but myself could decipher the manuscript. Fearing lest the Japanese might some time or other search us, and seize on these papers, I concealed them beneath my sash, in a little bag which Simanoff had made me out of part of an old waistcoat. But the previous conduct of the Japanese gave us little reason to fear that they would deprive us of our papers; for when we made our escape, Schkajeff had along with him the rough copy of our first memorial to the Governor, and though the Japanese took it from him, they never afterwards alluded to it in any way. Mr. Chlebnikoff's com-

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be spilt. In dry weather, when the roads are good, the journey from Mimayu to Yeddo may be completed in twenty three days. The couriers from Matsmai, who perform the journey on horseback, arrive in the capital in seven and sometimes in six days; but this is the extreme of their expedition in travelling. The general post with letters, departs only once every month, and is usually fourteen days in completing the journey.

pass likewise fell into their hands, but they never made it the subject of inquiry. They, probably, did not understand its nature. Had they been aware that it was a compass, they would doubtless have inquired how we had managed to make it.\*

The conduct of the new Bunyo proved that he was no less kindly disposed towards us than his predecessor. According to the Japanese laws he could not grant us permission to walk out; but he gave orders that the doors of our prison should be kept open all day, in order that we might enjoy the fresh air. We likewise received, by his orders, fresh fruit.† He once, on a festival day,‡

\* The manner in which Simanoff concealed his knife from the notice of the Japanese was singular enough, though I did not recollect to mention it before. Whilst the gaoler was searching Mr. Chlebnikoff and me, the eyes of all the Japanese were turned towards us. In the meantime Simanoff had sufficient presence of mind to throw the knife down on the ground, close to the cage which was allotted for the sailors. During the night, he stretched his hand through the palisades and recovered it. From that time it remained in our possession, and I still keep it as a memorial of our adventures.

† The fruits, such as apples, common pears, and Bergamots, were not yet perfectly ripe; but they suited the taste of the Japanese, who are extremely fond of acids. In the yard of our house there was a peach tree loaded with fruit, but the Japanese plucked all the peaches before they were ripe, and ate them, occasionally giving us some. We could eat them only when they were baked, but the Japanese devoured them with a voracious appetite, either raw or baked.

‡ This happened in the middle of August, on a day which is a great children's festival. In the evening the male children assemble in the castle, where, in the presence of the Governor and all the officers of state, they play, sing, dance, wrestle and fence with

sent us a supper which had been prepared in his own kitchen. Our guards likewise treated us with much civility. They sometimes gave us sagi, fruit, &c. and these acts of kindness were no longer performed by stealth. An old man, seventy years of age, brought some fans and lackered spoons for Mr. Chlebnikoff and me, and an ink-stand, ink and pencil for Schkajeff; who, notwithstanding that he was afflicted with a painful disorder,\* enter-

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sabres. They afterwards partake of a supper consisting of various kinds of delicacies. Kumaddscheru assured us, that on this occasion upwards of one thousand five hundred children were assembled in the castle; but none are admitted whose parents cannot afford to dress them well. Those who are badly dressed are, indeed, ashamed to appear in the assembly. Girls are never admitted, as the Japanese laws prohibit females from entering fortified places.

\* This man, though arrived at the age of thirty-two in total ignorance, had, whilst on board the sloop, by extreme application, learnt to read, and likewise to write a little. To pass away the time, Mr. Chlebnikoff and I took upon ourselves the task of instructing the sailors. Schkajeff, who suffered severely from indigestion, feared lest the others might advance more rapidly than he, and, whenever he experienced the least mitigation of his illness, never failed to employ himself either in reading or writing. He applied to both with unremitting assiduity, whilst his companions regarded the task of learning to read as too difficult, and abandoned it before they had acquired the alphabet. Mr. Chlebnikoff gave him instructions every evening, so that in time he could read and write tolerably well. He used to read to the rest of the sailors from a file of Moscow Journals, and gave them explanations of what he read. Schkajeff was a countryman of the great Lomonossoff. The disorder with which he became afflicted, and which shewed itself after we were taken, was an extraordinary swelling of the legs. The Japanese physician gave him a decoction to drink, and burned moxa on the swollen parts; Schkajeff, how-

tained an extraordinary desire to practice reading and writing. In return for these civilities, we gave the Japanese some European articles, on which, particularly fine cloth, they set the highest value. They regard as curiosities any rags of European manufacture, and make them into purses, bags for their letters and tobacco, and cases for their pipes. We, therefore, distributed among them the trowsers, stockings and handkerchiefs which were at our own disposal, for which they overwhelmed us with thanks. It was necessary, however, to give to each his portion privately, for had it been offered in the presence of others it would not have been accepted.

Nothing remarkable occurred until September; but I cannot omit mentioning a circumstance which is characteristic of the customs of the Japanese. One day a dinner was sent to us of far better quality than that to which we had been accustomed, and served in elegant dishes. We

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ever, looked upon these remedies as useless, and begged to have some radish juice to rub upon the swellings, which, he said, had cured him of the same disorder when he was in Russia. At length, the physician reluctantly consented to make a trial of the radish juice; which, indeed, cured the swelling, but reduced his limbs to mere skin and bone. He was then afflicted with such severe pains, that he frequently cried like a child, and wished for death to release him from his sufferings. The Japanese physician gave him a decoction of herbs, and put him into a warm bath, in which a bag containing roots and herbs had previously been soaked. These applications repeated for the space of seven months completely cured him.

remarked that every person who visited us congratulated us on receiving this treat, and we concluded that it came from the Bunyo. But we afterwards learnt, that the dinner was sent to us by a rich man who was suffering under a dangerous fit of illness, and that in such cases it was customary for the Japanese to send presents of that sort to the poor and unfortunate.

On the afternoon of the 6th of September, Mr. Moor and I were conducted to the castle, where we found assembled all the most distinguished officers, with the exception of the Bunyo, who was confined through illness. They shewed us two papers which had been sent ashore from the *Diana*, and which were dated the 28th of of August.\* The first was a letter from Mr. Rikerd, the commander of the *Diana*, to the Governor of Kunashier, in which he stated that he had, by command of the Emperor of Russia, conveyed to their native country certain Japanese who had been saved on the coasts of Kamtschatka after

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\* Had the papers been sent from the sloop on the day on which they were dated, they would probably not reach Kunashier until the evening of the 25th. They were received in Matsmai on the morning of the 6th of September. They were, consequently, seven days and a half upon the road, and owing to their importance, they were, no doubt, conveyed with the greatest possible dispatch. The Japanese reckon the distance from Kunashier to Mat-mai, by land, to be about two hundred and eighty rees, that is to say, one thousand two hundred weists. From this instance, some notion may therefore be formed of the speed with which couriers travel express in Japan.

shipwreck, and among whom was a Matsmai merchant, named *Leonsaimo*. He further informed the Governor, that the *Diana* was the same vessel which, about a year before, had, in consequence of the want of wood and water, entered that harbour : and the captain of which, together with two officers, four sailors and a Kurile, had been enticed into the garrison, treacherously detained, and of whose fate their countrymen were ignorant. He, likewise, assured the Governor of Kunashier of the friendly disposition entertained by the Emperor of Russia towards the Japanese : requested to know whether the Governor could himself grant us our liberty, and if not, to be informed how soon he might expect, from the Japanese Government, an answer to his demand for our liberation. He, moreover, wished to know where we were, and intimated that he would not quit the harbour until all his inquiries were answered. In conclusion, he begged permission to take on board the vessel a supply of fresh water.

Mr. Rikord's letter was couched in highly respectful and well chosen terms : at the same time he manifested that decision which in such cases is necessary, when he intimated his determination not to quit the harbour until he should receive satisfactory answers to all his demands.

The second paper was a letter from Mr. Rikord to me. He informed me of his arrival at Kuna-

shier, and stated that he had sent to the Governor of the island an explanation of the object of his voyage, both in the Russian and Japanese languages. As he knew not whether I was dead or living, he requested, in case the Japanese would not permit me to write an answer, that I would tear out the line of his letter which contained the word "living," and return it to him by the Japanese whom he had sent on shore, to satisfy him respecting our fate. I experienced a powerful emotion on reading this letter from my worthy shipmate and intimate friend; it even made an impression on Mr. Moor, who began from that moment to manifest his former friendship to us.

In conformity with the wish of the Japanese, we gave them a verbal translation of the letters, and they desired us to take copies of both, that with the help of Kumaddscheru, we might make written translations. They kept the originals to their own possession.

My companions were overjoyed on hearing of the arrival of the *Diana*. It was evident from Mr. Rikord's letter that the Russian Government was not disposed to adopt violent measures; but wished, by gentle means, to convince the Japanese of their error. In the meanwhile, we experienced all the agitation of alternate fear and hope. We begged permission to write to Mr. Rikord, if it were only a single line, to inform him that we were still living. Our attendants undertook to

make this request known to the Bunyo : but we were informed that this permission could not be granted without an order from the capital. We asked the interpreter and the guards whether our countrymen had been well treated by the Japanese at Kunashier, and whether their inquiries had been answered. They replied, that they could not give us any precise information, but that they believed all we could wish for had been done.

Meanwhile the papers were translated, and immediately sent off to Yeddo ; but we knew nothing of the orders which were transmitted to the Governor of Kunashier. Kunaddscherro informed us that Captain Rikord had come with two vessels, the one with two and the other with three masts,\* and that he had sent four Japanese ashore one after the other. The latter circumstance, as it augured nothing favourable, gave us some uneasiness. From the Japanese being sent ashore one after the other, we apprehended that Captain Rikord had received no answer to his inquiries.

Mr. Moor now endeavoured to renew his friendship with us. He sent me a book, in which was concealed a slip of paper, informing me that there were eighty men on board one of our ships, and forty men and four women on board the other. This he had learnt from one of the guards.

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\* The latter was the *Diana*.



Two officers (Shrabiyaqus) appeared on the 20th of September, and by order of the Governor informed us that the Russian ships had, a few days before, sailed from Kunashier \* without leaving any letters either for us or the Japanese. After a short pause the officers added, that our ships had detained a Japanese vessel bound from Eetooroop to Kunashier, and had carried off five of the crew. They inquired what could have been the object of our countrymen in doing this. We replied that we knew not, but that they had probably carried off the men in the hope of obtaining some positive information respecting our fate : and that in that case they would, doubtless, send them back in the following year. This is our opinion likewise, observed the officers, and immediately took their leave. †

We were much concerned at hearing this news, particularly as we knew not under what circumstances the capture of the Japanese had taken place. We were at a loss to conjecture whether these five men composed the whole crew of the Japanese ship, ‡ or whether Captain Rikord

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\* The 10th or 11th of September, according to our reckoning.

† When Chwostoff captured a Japanese ship near Sagaleen, the crew jumped overboard, in the hope of swimming ashore. Four men, however, concealed themselves in the vessel, and were made prisoners. We feared that an accident of a similar nature had again occurred.

had selected them from among the rest. We were moreover ignorant in what way our countrymen had treated the Japanese, and also what had become of the vessel. But we were most of all distressed by the answers of our interpreters and guards, who constantly declared that they knew nothing of the matter whenever we questioned them concerning this event. Two of the guards, at the same time, regarded us with feelings of hatred, which they could not conceal ; and, in an angry tone, told the sailors that since the Russians had captured a Japanese ship, we might give up all hopes of being set at liberty.

Mr. Moor at length communicated, by writing on slips of paper, and sending them to me in books, information which he had obtained from one of the guards who was more talkative than the rest ; \* but he begged that I would not distress my companions by discovering it completely to them. As our ships approached Kunashier, the Japanese began to fire upon them from the garrison ; the shot, however, did not reach them, and without regarding the attack of the castle, they proceeded quietly to take on board a supply of fresh water. In the meanwhile

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\* Two guards were stationed near us, and only one with Mr. Moor : this difference was, perhaps, the reason why our guards never ventured to communicate any secrets to us.

a Japanese vessel approached the harbour, and a boat was dispatched from one of our ships to board it. On seeing this, several of the crew of the Japanese vessel, through fear, plunged into the water, and six were drowned. \* When the Russians took the vessel, they put all the Japanese, who were on board, in fetters ; but on being informed that we were alive, they immediately relieved them from that situation, gave them presents, and detaining only five, set all the rest free, and restored the vessel to them. I moreover learnt from Mr. Moor that the Japanese Government had condemned Alexei's companions, the Kuriles, to forfeit their heads, on discovering that they had been sent by the Russians as spies to inspect the villages and fortresses of Japan ; but the generous Arrao-Madsimano-Kami represented that the Japanese would disgrace themselves by putting to death these unfortunate Kuriles, who, instead of acting from any will of their own, had been compelled blindly to obey the orders of the Russians. He, therefore, proposed that, after giving them presents, they should be set at liberty, and the Government adopted his humane advice. This circumstance did not correspond with the assurance we had formerly received, namely, that no foreigner could suffer corporeal punishment in Japan. But we re-

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\* We afterwards learned that nine men had been drowned.

## HIS CAPTIVITY IN JAPAN.

ected that the Japanese might have regarded the Kuriles as their subjects, \* though they did not publicly declare them to be such, through dread of involving themselves in a war with Russia. Besides, the information which Mr. Moor received from the guard might have been false, and we dared not question the interpreters on the subject, lest an investigation should have immediately followed to ascertain how these circumstances came to our knowledge.

When we inquired what had been said by the Japanese who returned from Russia, our interpreter Kumaddscheru replied, that they confirmed all our declarations. He, besides, informed us that one of them, named Gorodsee, had been carried

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\* I must here observe, that the Japanese always made our clothes be cut in the European fashion. We likewise saluted the officers according to the European manner, and sat on benches which were provided for us without any solicitation on our part. But Alexei, though he wore a Russian sailor's dress at the time he was taken prisoner, was ever afterwards furnished with Japanese clothes, and was obliged to shew his respect to the Governor and the officers in the Japanese style. The interpreters frequently told us that it was more than three hundred years since the Japanese had visited the Kurile Islands as far as Kamtschatka; that they might easily have retained possession of them; and that the Kuriles and Japanese were originally the same people. In support of this assertion they referred to the number of words which are common to both languages. The conjecture is, indeed, not improbable. I believe also that they must have visited Kamtschatka frequently, for they call it by the same name as the Kamtschatdales themselves do, namely, KURUMUSHI. They have, besides, adopted many other Kamtschatdale names.

off by Chwostoff from the Island of Eetooroop.\* In Captain Rikord's papers this man was stated to be a Matsmai merchant, named Leonsaimo;† because he had thought it necessary to deceive the Russians; and had, under an assumed name, represented himself to be a merchant. In fact, he had been employed by a merchant as overseer of a fishery at Eetooroop. One of his companions who was carried off along with him died, after they had made their escape from Okotzk, in consequence of eating too great a quantity of whale-flesh. Gorodsee had, however, been taken by the Tongusians who delivered him up to the Russians. Kumaddscher's assurance that the declarations of the Japanese who had been sent home, perfectly coincided with ours, was confirmed by the circumstance of the Bunyo sending us new silk dresses, although we by no means stood in need of a fresh supply of clothes.‡ We were convinced, from this circumstance, that the Japanese must have spoken well of the Russians.

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\* This circumstance was not mentioned in Captain Rikord's letters.

† On reading the papers, the Japanese immediately observed that there was no merchant of that name in Matsmai, and that he must belong to some other place.

‡ The Japanese being informed that one of our sailors had learned the trade of a tailor, they merely sent us the stuff, in order that we might have our clothes made in whatever way we pleased. For the sake of convenience we all wore the dress of the common sailors, consisting of loose trousers and a jacket.

Some time after this Mr. Moor informed us that the Bunyo was dead. but that the Japanese laws required that his death should be kept secret for a certain time.\* Two days afterwards one of our guards, a man of seventy, likewise informed us of this event, begging we would not mention it to any of the Japanese. We were concerned to hear of the Bunyo's death, for the Japanese all assured us that he was an excellent man, and was disposed to shew us every kindness.

About the middle of October, Mr. Moor and I were conducted to the castle, where the two senior officers of state,† together with several

\* In Japan the law or custom requires that the death of an officer should not be mentioned, until the Government has either filled up the vacancy, or conferred some rank on his eldest son. If he dies without a son, the rest of his family, or his nearest relations receive some mark of favour by way of diminishing the grief occasioned by his loss. This secrecy is, however, only publicly observed; the news is generally communicated in a confidential way from one to another, until, in a short time, it is known to every body.

† One of these officers, named TAKA-HASSI-SAMPEI, had been but a short time in Matsmai. He was the eldest of the two, and his rank was that of a Ginmiyaku. We found him to be an extremely humane man. The kindness with which he treated us may, perhaps, be accounted for, from his having, in his youth, been visited by a misfortune similar to our own. He had been in the service of the reigning Prince of Matsmai. As he was sailing through the Straits of Sangar a storm arose; the ship lost her mast, and rudder, and was driven on the coast of China, where the crew were all made prisoners by the Chinese, and kept in confinement for six years. Their explanations having at last proved satisfactory, they were set at liberty, and permitted to return to

others, had assembled. They shewed us a letter which had been given to one of the Japanese on leaving the Russian ship; and which, they observed, the man had mislaid in consequence of having occasion to dry his clothes; they had, therefore, been unable to produce it before; and now requested that we would translate it. We immediately perceived the cunning of the Japanese; for the fact was, that they could not shew us the letter until they received an order to that effect from the capital. I laughed, and observed that I knew the real cause which had prevented the letter from being sooner produced. Upon this the Japanese laughed likewise, and, seemed not unwilling to acknowledge their readiness at inventing excuses.

The letter was from Mr. Rudakoff, one of the Lieutenants of the *Diana*, to Mr. Moor. It stated that the Japanese commandant at Kunashier had sent back Mr. Rikord's messenger with the answer that we had all been put to death. Captain Rikord therefore, resolved to commence hostilities, and ac-

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Japan. The law excluding from the public service every Japanese who has lived in a foreign country, did not then exist in the principality of Matsmai, and SAMPEI was accordingly restored to the service of the prince. After Chwostoff's attacks the principality was converted into an imperial province, but TAKA-HASSI-SAMPEI did not, on that account, lose his post. We were, however, assured by some that this law is not enforced against Japanese who may visit China, but merely against those who have lived among Christians.

cordingly captured a Japanese vessel, on board of which was the commander of ten ships.\* Our countrymen learned, from the crew of this vessel, that we were all living and in Matsmai; they, therefore, looked upon the account of our death as a fabrication imposed on the Japanese, whom they had sent ashore, and resolved to discontinue hostilities. They had, however, thought proper to detain the commander, four Japanese, and a Kurile, allowing the rest to depart with the vessel. They then determined to sail back to Kamtschatka, and to obtain from the Japanese more circumstantial evidence respecting us. Mr. Rudakoff concluded his letter by intimating that he would return to Matsmai in the following year, wishing us health, &c.

We were requested to explain this letter to the Japanese, and then to take a copy of it in order to make out a written translation. Its perusal afforded us at least this satisfaction, that the ill conduct of the Japanese towards Russia was now self-evident, and that if our Emperor entertained

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\* He was not only the commander, but the owner of these ships. Besides being a rich merchant, he was a man of uncommon abilities and upright principles, and his countrymen treated him with the highest consideration. Even the superior officers of state shewed him particular marks of respect. He was beloved by all who knew him. Captain Rikord and his officers must have immediately recognised him to be a person of distinction, as individuals of his rank have, when abroad, the privilege of wearing a sabre and dagger.



any intention of punishing their want of faith, the justifiable grounds of any attack he might make upon them could not be disputed.

Whilst Mr. Moor was copying the letter, I asked the Japanese officers, with some marks of indignation, whether the Governor of Kunashier had really returned such an answer to Mr. Rekord as that stated; and if so, what could have induced him to resort to a mean falsehood, which might have been attended with very disagreeable, if not dangerous consequences to Japan? "We know nothing of the matter," was their reply. On my inquiry whether such conduct was customary among them, they expressed some displeasure.

The translation of the letter was forwarded to Yeddo without delay. Mr. Rudkoff's letter having made us better acquainted with the circumstances of the affair between our countrymen and the Japanese at Kunashier, Kumaddschero thought fit to inform us that the Japanese, who had returned from Okotzk, and in particular Leonsaimo, or Gorodsee, positively asserted that Russia intended to declare war against Japan, and that she had, in the meanwhile, assumed a pacific tone merely with a view to obtain our liberation. This man, it was true, stated that Chwostoff and Davydoff were arrested on their arrival at Okotzk; but he asserted that they soon made their escape from prison, and insinuated that they had been confined merely because they brought back too

few Japanese prisoners, and an insufficient booty. He observed that they must have acted by order of the Government, because nobody in Okotzk had told him that they were imprisoned on account of their conduct towards the Japanese. He, moreover, asserted that all the Japanese property, though at first placed under sequestration, was ultimately sold in the warehouses of the American Company.

Unfortunately, we were but too certain, that the Japanese spoke truth ; but how could we convince them that all this was attributable to the weakness of the commandant of Okotzk, and the misconduct of the officers of the company? How could we contradict Leonsaimo's statement, and prove that our Government intended no hostilities towards the Japanese? We had, also, the mortification to learn, that the Japanese, who had saved themselves from shipwreck on the coast of Kamtschatka, and had wintered there, gave a very bad account of the Russians. They had lived for some time with a priest in Nischny-Kamtschatsk, and were then very well satisfied with their treatment ; but when they were removed to Malka, a Kamtschatdale village, they were supplied with nothing but dried fish for their food,\* and were allowed hardly a rag of clothing to cover them.

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\* We afterwards learned that the civil Governor of Irkutsk allotted a considerable sum for the maintenance of these men. As,

On the 1st of November, Mr. Moor and I were again conveyed to the castle, where we were shewn a certificate which had been delivered to Leonsaimo by Captain Minitzky, of the Japanese navy, Governor of Okotzk. According to custom, the Japanese officers apologized for not having produced this paper sooner, and blamed the stupidity of Leonsaimo, for having kept it so long in his possession without saying a word about it. But we were not so simple as to put faith in this tale; as we knew that it would have been impossible for the Japanese who returned in the *Diana*, to have concealed any thing they brought ashore with them, far less an official paper under an imperial seal, which had evidently been brought from Okotzk. This certificate stated, that Chwostoff had acted without authority, and that his conduct had accordingly exposed him to the displeasure of the Government; and, moreover, that Leonsaimo with his companion had twice fled from Okotzk without waiting for permission to return to their native country, which was, however, granted after their second escape. Finally, Captain Minitzky expressed his approbation of the good conduct of Leonsaimo during the time he had lived in Okotzk.

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however, it was pretty certain that their complaints would never reach Irkutsk, the Toion or chief of the village of Malka had probably appropriated the money to some other purpose,

Having verbally explained this document, we carried away a copy to make a translation, which was immediately forwarded to the capital along with the original.

On the 8th of November, the Japanese, whom Captain Rikord had put ashore at Kunashier, arrived at Matsmai, and were quartered in the house whence we had made our escape. They all underwent an examination; and Kumaddscher, who was present, repeated what he had before told us, namely, that his countrymen spoke unfavourably of the Russians; and that Leonsaimo praised Irkutsk, but represented Okotzk, and the whole eastern part of Siberia, as being a poor miserable country, where he saw scarcely any human beings, except beggars and government officers. These Japanese remained about a week in Matsmai, and were then sent to Yeddo.

About this time, in one of my meetings with Mr. Moor, he informed me that our friend, the old Bunyo, had fallen into disgrace; and that his property had been seized. We were much concerned at hearing this, and had, besides, the mortification to reflect that Teske, in his letters,\* though he did not state any thing positively, rather hinted that our business did not stand in the

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\* His letters, though written in the Russian language, were composed in such a way that no Russian could have understood them. But we were acquainted with the expressions and phrases he had been accustomed to make use of when in conversation

most favourable state. In December, however, Kumaddschero informed us, as a great secret, that he had dreamt we were all liberated. He added, that he was sure his dream would be realized, for he had learned from an officer of distinction, just returned from the capital, that our case was expected to have a favourable issue; and that Mr. Rikord's generous treatment of the Japanese, whom he had seized on board the vessel off Kumashier, had not only gained him the esteem of the government, but likewise of all the inhabitants of the capital.\* A note from Mr. Moor confirmed this intelligence, with the addition, that he had learned from one of the guards, that our things, which had been conveyed to Yeddo, were sent back to Matsmai, and that thoughts were entertained of restoring us to our native country.

A ray of hope now began to dawn upon us, and seemed to rescue us from despair. Thus perplexed between the expectation of liberty, and distrust of the Japanese, we entered upon the new year 1813.

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with us; and could, therefore, discover his meaning without much difficulty. We answered his letters, likewise, in Russian, making choice of such words as he was familiar with. Mr. Chlebnikoff once wrote to him a Japanese letter in the Russian character, which Teske perfectly well understood.

\* Kumaddschero and other Japanese told us that their countrymen, who had been seized on board the vessel, spoke in the most satisfactory way of the conduct of Captain Rikord. When he heard that we were still living, he ordered all the Japanese who

During the month of January, we received several letters from Teske in answer to those which we had addressed to him. In one of these letters, he plainly told us that the decision of our affair was still very doubtful, as various circumstances tended to prepossess the Government against us; and that all, which had been alleged in our justification, had hitherto been insufficient to remove prejudices that were of long standing and firmly rooted. Teske appropriately reminded us of the Japanese proverb: "A fog cannot be dispelled with a fan."\* This communication from our best friend

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had been taken to be unboarded, treated them with great attention, and gave them presents. The wife of the rich merchant, whom he conveyed to Russia, was on board the captured vessel. Captain Rikord took her on board the *Diana*, and desired the Russian women to give her refreshments, and to cheer her over the ship. But she wept the whole time, seemed greatly terrified, and paid attention to nothing. When Captain Rikord sent her back to her husband's vessel, he presented her with an amber necklace, which the Japanese valued at thirty of their gold pieces (a coin about the same weight as a Russian imperial). He then permitted the merchant to write to his relations, informing them that he should certainly be brought back in the following year, and that in the meanwhile he was lodged in the cabin with Captain Rikord, with whom he was to reside until his return to Japan. These marks of attention to their countrymen pleased the Japanese exceedingly. Kurmaddschero assured us that Captain Rikord at first intended to take only this merchant and a Kurile as his interpreter; but four Japanese voluntarily offered to remain with their master.

\* In all countries people form their proverbs from those objects which are immediately before their eyes. The coasts of Japan are frequently enveloped in fog. From the age of five the Japanese of both sexes carry fans during the summer season. These circumstances, have of course, given rise to the proverb.

was very discouraging ; and besides, our guards openly informed us that Arrao-Madsimano-Kami had been removed from his office of Bunyo of Matsmai, and that another nobleman was already appointed to fill his place.

To this unlucky circumstance was added another, which occasioned us no less uneasiness. In the beginning of February all the letters, which Teske had addressed to Mr. Moor, were seized.\* One of our attendants, whom Teske's brother had entrusted to carry a letter to Mr. Moor, was so imprudent as to deliver it in the presence of the sentinel on duty. The latter observed it, and instantly raised an alarm. The servant was discharged, a serjeant or corporal was sent to superintend our military guard,† and we were treated with some degree of incivility ; but on our complaining of the conduct of our attendants, they were ordered to behave as respectfully towards us as before. But what we most of all feared was that the correspondence of our friend Teske might be attended with serious consequences to himself, as his letters

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\* Mr. Chlebnikoff and I fortunately had time to burn those which he had written to us.

† Old men are usually appointed to the rank which corresponds with that of a serjeant or corporal. They are styled KUMINO-KASSHRA, or rice-commissaries, because their business chiefly consists in receiving rice from the magazines, and dealing it out among the soldiers ; for, in Japan, a portion of the soldiers' pay is given in rice. In Matsmai, and on the Kurile Islands, they receive a small sum of money along with the rice.

contained many expressions calculated to give offence to the Japanese Government.\* Kumaddschero and our guards, indeed, assured us that no notice would be taken of the contents of these letters ; but we could not place much faith in what they said.

In the middle of February Kumaddschero informed us that our business was settled ; but that nobody, without incurring the risk of a severe punishment could venture to make known the decision before the arrival of the new Bunyo.† He, however, assured us that the Japanese Government had decided on nothing to our disadvantage. This piece of news plunged us into the most perplexing uncertainty ; what resolution had been adopted we could not possibly guess, since all that could be collected from Kumaddschero's information was, that it was neither good nor bad. We anxiously waited for the appearance of the new Governor, on whose arrival the riddle was to receive its solution.

Mr. Chlebnikoff had been extremely melancholy ever since the 11th of March. He some-

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\* For instance, in one letter he styled his countrymen in Kunashier, "Stupid Japanese." In another he made use of the following words : "The Russians act with generosity, but our officers cannot perceive it." He called Gorodsee a *dog*, for the bad account he had given of the Russians, &c.

† His name was CHATTORI BINGONO-KAMI.



times tasted no food for whole days together, and was unable to sleep. In the course of time, however, his spirits began to revive; but his health was never completely restored, until he re-embarked on board the *Diana*.

## CHAPTER IV.

On the 18th of March the new Bunyo arrived, and entered on his office. His suite included several officers, our friend TESKE, a member of the Japanese academy, named ADATI-SANNAY, and an interpreter of the Dutch language, named BABA-SADSEEROO. Teske was eager to prove that his attachment to us was undiminished. He had no sooner landed than he hastened to visit us, even before he had seen his father or any of his relations, brought us sweetmeats,\* and consoled us with the information that the new Bunyo had been directed to correspond with the Russians; and that orders were to be immediately transmitted to all forts and harbours, to prohibit the firing on the Russian ships.

From the account which Teske gave us, our benefactor Arrao-Madsimano-Kami appeared more noble and generous than ever. He informed us that the Japanese Government, had determined not to listen to any conciliatory proposals on the part of Russia, as from all that had transpired, and

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\* He never forgot to send us preserves and other dainties along with letters from the capital.

in particular the declaration of Leonsaimo, they could expect nothing but falsehood, fraud and hostility.

Arrao-Madsimano-Kami, however, questioned Leonsaimo in the presence of the new Bunyo, convicted him of prevarication in his answers, and brought him to acknowledge that all he had asserted respecting the hostile intentions of Russia towards Japan, and Chwostoff's having acted by order of the Government, had been merely uttered at random. He moreover sought to overthrow the grounds on which the members of the Government rested their opinions. He represented to them that they ought not to judge of the laws and customs of other nations by their own, and at length prevailed on them to resolve to enter into explanations with the nearest Russian commander. He likewise made strong representations against the Japanese Government prohibiting Russian ships, even coming with explanations, from entering any other port than that of Nangasaky, and observed that the Russians would thereby be led to believe that another trap was prepared for them : for how could they be convinced that the Japanese were inclined to act candidly and honourably when they required the Russian vessels to undertake so long a voyage, to settle an affair which might be decided equally well, and infinitely more promptly, in any harbour of the Kurile Islands.

The members of the Government having, in

answer to his representations, urged that they could not, without violating their laws, permit Russian vessels to enter any other port than that of Nangasaky, he made the following remarkable reply: "Since the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, which are the creation of the Almighty, are variable in their course, the Japanese laws, the work of weak mortals, cannot be eternal and unchangeable."\*—By these arguments he prevailed on the Government to order the Bunyo of Matsmai to correspond with our ships, without requiring them to sail to Nangasaky.

Teske, moreover, informed us, that though Arrao-Madsimano-Kami was no longer one of the Bunyos of Matsmai, he had obtained a more important post, though the emoluments attached to his present office were somewhat less considerable,†

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\* Teske assured us, that no other individual in Japan would have dared to give such an answer to the Government. But Arrao-Madsimano-Kami, who, on account of his superior understanding and virtuous principles, was universally known and beloved by the people, feared not to speak the truth. He was brother-in-law to the Governor-General of the capital, an office which is filled only by individuals near the imperial person. He was, besides, brother to one of the Emperor's mistresses.—The importance of the latter connection will be readily enough understood in Europe.

† His salary in Matsmai was about three thousand large gold pieces, each of which somewhat exceeds in weight a Russian imperial; but I cannot pronounce any judgment on the purity of the gold. He, besides, received rice to the amount of an equal and sometimes a greater sum, according as the value of the article varied.

because every thing was much dearer in Matsmai than in the capital, where he was, in future, to reside. He was now appointed Governor of all the Imperial Palaces in the Empire of Japan.

Teske staid so long conversing with us that his father sent for him twice : he did not, however, take leave of us until he had completely removed all our apprehensions.

A day or two after the arrival of the Bunyo, Kumaddschero informed us that the chief officer, the Giuniyaku Sampey, wished us to teach the academician and the Dutch interpreter, who had arrived from the capital, the Russian language, and to give them, as far as we were able, any other instruction they might desire. I expressed my surprise, that before the new Bunyo had given us an audience or communicated the decision of the Japanese Government, we should be required to instruct persons who had been sent from the capital.

I asked Mr. Moor, through the partition which separated our apartments, what he thought of this proposal, and he made the following reply : " Until the Bunyo makes us acquainted with the decision on our case, nothing shall induce me to comply with his request ; but whenever he shall make that communication, I am ready to work, day and night, in giving the Japanese instructions."—I proposed that we should devote an hour or two every day to instructing these men until

the Russian ships arrived ; we should then perceive what were the real views of the Japanese Government respecting us, and be able to adopt measures accordingly. But Mr. Moor would listen to nothing of the kind. I was unable to guess the cause of this obstinacy, but supposed that he wished, by his present zeal, to make his former conduct be forgotten.—But the mystery was soon unravelled in a different way.

Kumaddschero went away without having received any decisive answer to his message. A few days afterwards, Mr. Moor and I were conducted to the castle, where the two principal officers, in the presence of several others, informed us that they had been directed to write to the Russians, who would probably soon approach the coasts of Japan with their ships, and to request an explanation of Chwostoff's conduct from the commander of the nearest Russian Government or district. They accordingly intended to send off letters to this effect to the different harbours of the northern Japanese possessions.\* The translations, they observed, must be executed by Teske, Kumaddschero and us. The interpreter then explained the contents of the Japanese letter, in order that we might be able to state our opinion respecting the proposition it contained.

The letter appeared to me extremely well writ-

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\* Kunashier, Eetooroop, Sagaleen, Atkis and Chakodade.

ten. I thanked the Japanese for having adopted measures which would probably spare much useless bloodshed both to Russia and Japan, and stated my conviction that our Government would not fail to return a satisfactory answer. They then informed me that, in case our ships entered the ports of Matsmai or Chakodade, they proposed sending the letter on board by one or two of our sailors. I expressed my approval of this plan, as our countrymen would thereby be convinced that we were still in existence. I, at the same time, begged that they would permit me to write a few small notes which might be sent along with the copies of their letter to the other fortified harbours, to intimate to our friends that we were all well in health. To this the Japanese gave their assent, but observed that these notes must be as brief as possible, and as it would be necessary to send them to Yeddo, to receive the sanction of the Government, they advised us to write them speedily. This advice I followed without delay on my return to the place of our confinement, and then set about the translation of the Japanese letter, in which Mr. Moor and Alexei assisted.

About this time the two learned Japanese, namely, the academician and the Dutch interpreter paid us their first visit. We merely exchanged compliments, and they made no allusion to the object of their journey. They brought us some sweetmeats, and urgently solicited that we would

give them a French dictionary and one or two other French books.

Soon after, Mr. Moor addressed me in the following remarkable way: "You, who are the cause of our misfortune," said he, "should not be the first to go on board our ship; ANDREY ILYITSCH, meaning Mr. Chlebnikoff, is almost at death's door, and the sailors are too stupid to arrange any thing with propriety. It will, therefore, be best to send me on board the ship, accompanied by Alexei, who has been three years in imprisonment, whilst our sailors have lived only two years in Japan. But I cannot make this request to the Japanese, you must therefore do so, for your fate depends upon it. If you neglect to follow this advice, you are lost."—"How so?" I inquired.—"For reasons which are well known to me," replied Mr. Moor, in an emphatic tone—I observed that the Japanese Government must be consulted before any new arrangement could be determined on, and as this would necessarily occasion loss of time, I could not think of making the application he wished for.—"Then," said he, "you will repent of your error when it will be too late."

I was at a loss to divine the meaning of these threats. On the following day Mr. Moor again addressed me through the partition. One of the soldiers, he said, had informed him, that the Japanese intended to entrap the commander of a Russian ship, and a party of officers and sailors, equal



in number to ourselves, and then to let us free, as it were, in exchange for them. This circumstance, he observed, might occasion bloodshed ; he, therefore advised me to reflect, and to permit him to go on board first, as he could, of course, render the matter more intelligible than the sailors. He would induce Captain Rikord to take care that we should all be safely given up to him.—No child could have been imposed on by such a story as this. What soldier would have ventured to divulge so important a secret? and yet Mr. Moor stated a prudent old man of seventy to be the author of his information. I coolly replied, that no credit could be given to the statement. But Mr. Moor would not suffer the affair to rest here. He shortly afterwards told me, that the Japanese intended to capture our ships, together with the whole of their crews, and then to send an embassy to Okotzk, on board of a Japanese vessel. He said he had received this intelligence from the old man, and likewise from a young soldier, and insisted on being sent to Captain Rikord instead of the sailors. This invention was even more laughable than the former. I merely replied, “ Heaven’s will be done ! ” and said no more on the subject.

We had now finished translating the letter which was to be sent on board our ships. It was addressed thus : “ From the Ginmiyaks, the two chief commanders next to the Bunyo of Matsmai, to the Commander of the Russian ships.”

The contents were briefly as follow :—“ The Japanese, in as far as was consistent with their laws, maintained intercourse with the Ambassador Resanoff, in Nangasaky ; but, though they offered him not the least provocation, the Russian ships had, without the slightest reason, commenced hostilities on the coasts of Japan. Accordingly, when the *Diana* appeared, the Commander of Kunashier, who, of course, regarded the Russians as the enemies of his country, took seven of the crew prisoners. These men have, indeed, declared, that the conduct of the Commander of those ships was unauthorised by the Government, but as prisoners, the Japanese cannot give credit to what they say. They, therefore, wish to have their account confirmed by higher authority, and this confirmation must be sent to Chakodade.”

The Japanese wished us to translate this document with the utmost precision, and to adhere as closely as possible to the literal meaning. They required that the words in the translation should follow each other in the same order as in the original, wherever the idiom of both languages would permit of their doing so, and they directed us to pay no regard to elegance of style. This translation accordingly occupied us for several days together, from morning to night ;—even when we had finished it the Bunyo sent it back several times, requesting us to make corrections, which he pointed out. At length the task being completed, we made several copies of

the letter, which we put up under covers, in the European style, with Russian superscriptions. They were then sent off to the different harbours.

On the 27th of March we were introduced to the new Bunyo. He was a young man about thirty-five years of age, handsome, and had a very pleasing expression of countenance. His suite consisted of eight individuals, as he was superior in rank to the two former Bunyos. After asking our names and ranks, he addressed us as the other Governors had formerly done, and gave us reason to hope that the business between the Japanese Government and us would terminate in the way we wished. He questioned us respecting our health, and whether we were satisfied with the food with which we were supplied, and then withdrew. We returned home accompanied by the interpreters.

We this day overheard a conversation between Mr. Moor and the interpreters; which filled us with horror. He asked Teske to obtain for him a private interview with the Bunyo, as he had something of great importance to communicate to him. Teske replied, that the Bunyo would not grant an interview unless he were first informed, through the interpreters, what was the nature of the business which rendered a private conference necessary. Mr. Moor then declared, that the object of our voyage had been to make observations on the southern Kurile Islands, which are under the dominion of the Japanese; but for what reason the

Russian Government had ordered me to make these observations I alone could inform them, as I never communicated my instructions to the officers. He further stated, that we had concealed various circumstances from the Japanese, and in our translations had construed many passages in a way different from their real meaning, &c. On hearing this, Teske asked him whether he had lost his senses, as such declarations would, of course, prove as injurious to himself as they could be to us? Mr. Moor replied, that he was perfectly aware of what he was doing, and that he was resolved to confess the truth. Teske now lost all patience, and told him, that, even allowing he did speak truth, it was now too late, as a decision had taken place, and if satisfactory explanations were received from Russia, we would be immediately set at liberty. Mr. Moor, however, insisted on being taken before the Banyo, upon which Teske became irritated, and left him. He then entered our apartment, and told us, that if Mr. Moor were not mad he must have a very *black* heart. On the following day Mr. Moor, indeed, discoursed like one who was bereft of reason, but whether his derangement was real or counterfeit Heaven only knows.

Two days afterwards, Mr. Moor having expressed a wish to be again confined along with us, the Japanese conducted him and Alexei to our apartment.

We were now daily visited by the Dutch interpreter and the man of learning, whom we have styled

the academician, because he was a member of a learned society, somewhat resembling our academies. The interpreter began to fill up and improve the Russian vocabularies: he used to refer to a French and Dutch Lexicon, in order to inquire through the French for such Russian words as he did not know; he then searched for these words in a Russian Lexicon, which he had in his possession. He was a man about twenty-seven years of age, and as he possessed an excellent memory, and considerable knowledge of grammar, he made a rapid progress in acquiring the Russian language. This induced me to attempt to compile a Russian grammar for him, as well as I could from mere recollection.\*

The academician employed himself in translating

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\* Having no books by the help of which I could compose a complete grammar, I was forced to content myself with what I could put together from memory. I devoted more than four months to the completion of this task. In the préface I stated, that should it ever chance to fall into the hands of a Russian, or any individual who understood our language, the circumstances under which it was written must be taken into account. All the examples which I introduced bore a reference to the relations between Russia and Japan, and were so contrived as to recommend the approximation and friendship of both nations. With this the Japanese were highly pleased. They eagerly set about translating my manuscript, and though it formed a tolerably large volume, they soon accomplished the task. Teske and Baba-Sadseeroo, particularly the latter, were extremely quick in comprehending the rules of grammar, but they could not find time to learn them by heart. I besides translated into Russian, some French and Dutch dialogues which were in a French grammar, and they proved very useful to the Dutch interpreter in learning our language.

from the Russian, a work on arithmetic, published at Petersburg for the use of the public schools, and which had been brought to Japan by Kodia.\* In explaining the arithmetical rules we soon observed that he possessed considerable knowledge of the subject, and that he only wished to be made acquainted with the Russian demonstrations. I was curious to know how far his knowledge of mathematics extended, and frequently conversed with him on matters connected with that science. But as our interpreters entertained not the slightest notion of the subject, I found it impossible to make all the inquiries I wished. I will, however, state a few circumstances, which may enable the reader to form some idea of the mathematical knowledge of the Japanese. The academician once asked me whether the Russians, like the Dutch, reckoned according to the new style. When I replied that the Russians reckoned by the old style, he requested me to explain to him the distinction between the old and new styles, and what occasioned the difference between them, which I accordingly did. He then observed, that the new mode of reckoning was by no means exact, because, after a certain number of centuries a difference of twenty-four hours would again arise. I readily perceived that he questioned

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\* A Japanese whom Laxman conveyed back to his native country in 1792.

me merely to discover how far I was informed on a subject with which he was perfectly familiar. The Japanese consider the copernican the true system of the universe. The orbit and satellites of Uranus are known to them, but they know nothing of the planets, which have been more recently discovered.

Mr. Chlebnikoff employed himself in the calculation of logarithms, of natural signs and tangents, and other tables connected with navigation, which he completed, after incredible labour and application. When the academician was shewn these tables, he immediately recognised the logarithms, and drew a figure to convince us that he was also acquainted with the nature of the signs and tangents. In order to ascertain whether the Japanese knew how to demonstrate geometrical truths, I asked whether they were perfectly convinced that in a right angled triangle the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides? He answered in the affirmative. I then asked how they were certain of this fact, and in reply he demonstrated it very clearly. Having drawn a figure with a pair of compasses on paper, he cut out the three squares, folded the squares of the two short sides into a number of triangles, and also cut out these triangles; then laying the several triangles on the surface of the large square, he made them exactly cover and fit it.

The academician assured us that the Japanese

calculate with great precision the eclipses of the sun and moon.\* This is not improbable, for they have a translation of De Lalande's *Astronomy*, and, as I have already observed, a European astronomer resides in their capital.

Teske and Kumadschero generally came to visit us along with the academician and the Dutch interpreter. They usually staid with us the whole forenoon, and sometimes all day. This time was not wholly devoted to scientific investigations; our visitors frequently entertained us by relating singular occurrences and interesting anecdotes. Among other things, Teske gave us an account of the examination of Leonsaimo or Gorodsee, the Japanese, who had returned from Russia, which took place in the presence of the new Bunyo and Arrao-Madsimano-Kami. On being asked how he had been treated by the Russians, he spoke with the highest praise and gratitude of the Governor of

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\* In August, 1812, an eclipse of the moon was visible in this quarter of the world. The Japanese, in their calendar, foretold the period when the eclipse would take place, and we determined to observe whether they were correct in their reckoning. At that time we were unacquainted with the degree of knowledge they possessed, and suspected that the Japanese calculations would resemble those of the Dutch astronomer, who published in the *Almanac of the Cape of Good Hope*, that an eclipse would take place on the first night of a new moon. The poor Dutchmen gaped and stared the whole night at the sky, but saw neither the moon nor the eclipse which they expected. A very different cause prevented our observing the eclipse at Japar. The heavens were completely obscured by a fog.



Irkutzk,\* the Commandant of Jakutzk,† the Commandant of Okotzk harbour,‡ Mr. Rikord, together with all the Officers of the *Diana*, and various other individuals with whom we were acquainted ; but the rest of the Russians he described as being a very worthless set.

On being asked what he knew respecting our Government, he made the following reply :—“ The Emperor of Russia is extremely kind and condescending ; his subjects regard him as their father, but his officers seek to deceive him ; and in order to enrich themselves, carry on trade and provoke warfare with neighbouring states.”§ All this, he said, he had learnt from the Japanese, who lived at Irkutzk.

He characterised the Russian nation as being warlike and rapacious. His countrymen, in Irkutzk, had shewn him, on the map, the boundaries of Russia in former times, and assured him that the Government had not purchased a foot of ground, but had acquired their present extent of territory by

\* His Excellency the present Counsellor of State, N. T. Treskin.

† The Court Counsellor, T. G. Kardashevsky.

‡ Captain M. J. Mimitzky, of the Navy.

§ To prove that these observations which Leonsaimo made respecting Russia, were singularly erroneous, it is only necessary to reflect on our relations with China. The rash and offensive conduct of the Chinese would a thousand times have justified Russia in punishing them. Yet our Government benevolently forebore to do so, reflecting that these people, like other Asiatic nations, were ignorant of the laws of Europe.

conquest. He had himself made the following observations :—In Russia, should a boy find a stick in the streets, he immediately takes it up and goes through the military exercise. He had, besides, frequently seen numbers of boys assemble together for the purpose of practising military exercises; and the soldiers, wherever he saw them, were constantly under arms. From all the circumstances, he concluded that Russia was meditating a war with the Japanese, for she had no neighbours in that quarter of the world, except China and Japan. With China, she maintained commercial relations, consequently all her preparations must be directed against Japan. At this latter observation, both the Bunyos laughed, and called him a blockhead; adding, that in Japan it was customary for boys to fence with swords, and soldiers to go through their exercise, though no war was in contemplation. Leonsaimo then excused himself by apologising for his want of consideration in drawing such a conclusion.

The Bunyos reproached him for having changed his name without any motive; observing, that had he been a person of distinction, he might have adopted this mode of insuring his safety: but whether a man in his humble condition of life, were called Leonsaimo or Gorodsee, must be a matter of indifference to the Russians. He could urge nothing in his justification, but acknowledged his error, and begged pardon.

On being asked what had struck him as being most remarkable in Irkutzk, he replied, that the market and churches had most engaged his attention. He made a drawing of the market-place, and described it with tolerable precision ; but with respect to the churches, he could only say, that they contained many beautiful images, and that every object seemed glittering in gold. Arrao-Madsimano-kami wished that he should draw a plan of Irkutzk, its streets, and public buildings, but he plainly acknowledged that he had made no observations on the town. "Did not the Russians suffer you to go out?" inquired the Bunyo. "Oh yes," replied he, "they even advised us to walk about for the sake of our health, the Governor himself frequently desired us to do so." "Why then," continued the Bunyo, "did you not avail yourself of this indulgence, and inspect the city with attention, so that on your return home you might have been able to give an account of what you saw?" Leonsaimo again confessed his negligence, and begged that they would pardon him.

He was then asked whether he had ever witnessed a Russian festival? "Yes," replied he, "and one of the greatest that is held. On that day all the soldiers in Irkutzk assembled on the parade and a great firing took place.\* The Governor desired me to go out early in the morning to see the cere-

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\* It was the festival of Epiphany.

monies, and informed me that in the afternoon all the people in the streets would wear their festival dresses. I therefore went out in the morning and saw the soldiers. But I suddenly heard the firing of musketry and cannon, which so terrified me that I hastened back, and did not go out again all day." In return for this confession the Bunyo again called him a blockhead, and reproached him for having let slip the opportunity of observing the ceremonies and dresses of the Russians on such an occasion.

On being asked what he did on his return home, he very coolly replied, "I employed myself in writing down my observations." The Governor and all present burst into a fit of laughter. They inquired what observations he could possibly make since he had seen nothing? "I wrote down," replied he, "all that I had heard from my countrymen." He had, indeed, brought home with him a whole packet of papers filled with observations.

Teske assured us that Leonsaimo's papers contained a great deal concerning Siberia, and the trade with China, by the way of Kiachta, but what he had written on these subjects, Teske either could not or would not inform us. The Bunyos were not, however, inclined to give much credit to the remarks made by Leonsaimo. They told him that had he related what he had either seen himself, or heard from the Russians, his account would have merited attention : but that he had, on the con-

trary, received all his information from Japanese who had forsworn their native country and religion, and on whose assertions the Government could place no reliance.

The Bunyos questioned him at considerable length concerning that part of Siberia through which he had travelled. Leonsaimo represented it as being extremely poor and wretched ; he declared that the inhabitants of Okotzk were mere beggars, and that the population of the whole track of country from Irkutzk to Okotzk was not more numerous than that of a small Japanese town. In short, he constantly overstepped the truth, and represented every thing worse than it really was.

In speaking of the trade with China, he accused our countrymen of fraud in their dealings, and acquitted the Chinese of all blame, alleging that the Court of Peking had frequently threatened to put a stop to the trade, but that the Russians had promised to punish the offenders, though this promise was never fulfilled. Such, he said, was the account given by the Japanese who resided in Irkutzk.

There were farther questions and answers, but Teske said he could recollect only a few of them : perhaps he did not wish to let us know all that had passed. He made, however, the following addition to what he had already related of the account which Leonsaimo gave of his adventures :—Whilst in Okotzk he observed, in a warehouse belonging to

the American Company, a number of Japanese books and charts, which were deposited in a corner. They had been brought from Japan by Chwostoff. The attention of the officers of the Company seemed much more occupied with the rice than with these books and charts. Leonsaimo looked over the books, and found one containing a description of Japan, which he conceived it would be improper to suffer the Russians to possess: he therefore requested permission to read it, and conveyed it to his lodging, where he burned it. He likewise found means secretly to remove the charts, one by one, from the warehouse, and on taking them home consigned them all to the flames. When he arrived at Irkutsk he related this circumstance to a Japanese, with whom he lived, and who had previously become a convert to the Russian church. The latter observed, that he had taken a great deal of useless trouble, as he had himself brought several books and charts from Japan, which he had explained to the Russians. On Leonsaimo's reproaching him for his imprudence, he excused himself by saying, that he had become a Russian, and was no longer a Japanese.

When Leonsaimo attempted to escape along with his companions,\* in the expectation of meet-

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\* Three individuals on this occasion attempted to effect their escape: Leonsaimo, another Japanese, and a Russian outlaw. The other Japanese died, as has already been stated, in consequence of having eaten too great a quantity of whale-flesh; the outlaw robbed Leonsaimo, and then abandoned him. The latter, accordingly, reached the Giliak territory alone.

ing Tongusians, he carried along with him a copper image of a saint, to enable him to pass for a Russian. On entering the territory of the Giliaks, however, he passed himself for a Chinese Ambassador, and showed the people the image, which he said was a likeness of the Chinese Emperor. The Giliaks received him with so much cordiality, that he formed the design of passing the winter among them, and resuming his journey in the spring. However, on arriving at Udskey-Ostrog his plans were frustrated—he was seized and conveyed to Okotzk.

Teske, besides, frankly told us, that the Japanese, who was sent ashore with the letters from Captain Rikord, actually received orders from the Governor of Kamashier to state that we were dead. The motive for this falsehood was as follows: The Japanese assured his countrymen, that Russia would no doubt declare war against Japan, and that all her friendly representations were mere artifice. Captain Rikord had, however, stated in his letter, that he would not quit the harbour until he received a satisfactory answer: and at the approach of our ships, all the fishermen and labouring people on the southern coast of Kamashier had fled into the garrison, so that all business was suspended. It was, therefore, with a view to put an end to this state of things, and to induce the Russians to land and attempt to storm the garrison, that the assertion of our having been put to death was fabricated. The Schrabi-yagu, Otachi-Koeiki, at this time Go-

vernor of Kunashier, was the same officer who had so frequently treated us with so much derision at Chakodade, and his personal hatred of the Russians had probably dictated the answer he sent to Captain Rikord. This answer, Teske told us, excited no displeasure on the part of the Government; on the contrary, several of the Ministers expressed their approbation of the conduct of Otachi-Kocki, which, in their opinion, proved him to be an extremely judicious and able man.

Teske, besides, informed us, that his correspondence with us had involved him in considerable difficulty during his stay in the capital. The letters which were taken from Mr. Moor had been sent to Yeddo. The Government required Teske to translate all the letters he had received from us, and those which he had written to us : but he was prudent enough to give a different interpretation to the passages in which he spoke disrespectfully of his countrymen. The officers of the Government, to whose perusal these translations were submitted, asked him how he dared to correspond with foreigners, when he knew that a law existed by which that kind of intercourse was prohibited. Teske excused himself by saying, that he was not aware that such foreigners as had been made prisoners by the Japanese were included in this law; adding, that he had not corresponded with us for any improper purpose, but merely through motives of compassion. He had never imagined that this



correspondence could be attended by any evil consequences, but he was ready to suffer death, should the Government regard his crime as sufficiently enormous to call for such a punishment. He was, however, merely reprimanded, and admonished to be more prudent in future. The letters remained in the hands of the Government, and the affair had luckily no injurious result for Teske. Both he and Kumaddschero were afterwards promoted for their labours in translating, and the zeal they had manifested in acquiring the Russian language. Teske was appointed to fill the office of *Shtoyagu*; and Kumaddschero that of *Saydshu*, or secretary.

It is with the utmost pain that I again call the attention of the reader to a circumstance, which, in the midst of our sufferings, harassed my feelings, and the recollection of which is, even now, attended by the most distressing sensations—I allude to the conduct of Mr. Moor. If I unfold his errors, it is not that I wish to dwell on the description of the horrors into which he plunged me and my unfortunate companions. No! may his example prove a warning to all young men whom Fate may hereafter overwhelm with misfortunes such as we were doomed to endure. May it serve to convince them, that no wretch is visited by remorse so insufferable as he who renounces his faith and his country. If, like the unhappy Moor, whose history is as instructive as memorable, he has previously been a man of rectitude and extreme sensibility,

how dreadful must be his torments when he returns to the paths of virtue, and looks back upon his past conduct. I entreat the reader not to condemn this unfortunate officer :—If he accompanies me to the end of my Narrative, his indignation will be converted into pity, and he will, perhaps, shed a tear over the sad memory of this poor miserable youth.

After Mr. Moor was quartered along with us, he often discoursed with the guards like a person bereft of reason. For instance ; he assured them that he heard the officers of their Government calling to him from the roof of the house, and reproaching him with having drunk the blood of the Japanese and eat their rice ; that the interpreters, moreover, called to him from the streets, and came during the night secretly to consult with me and Mr. Chlebnikoff on the best means of getting rid of him.

He was, however, at certain intervals, perfectly collected, and then what he said always indicated that he had a particular object in view. On one occasion, he told Teske, that he had many fine books, charts, pictures, and other objects of curiosity on board the *Diana*, and that if the Japanese would grant him permission to go first on board, he would send valuable presents to the officers and interpreters. Teske replied, that the Japanese were not desirous of receiving presents, as in fact they stood in need of none, and that all they wanted

was, that our Government should send them a satisfactory explanation respecting the proceedings of the Company's ships.

Another time Mr. Moor, in the presence of the interpreters and the academician, said, that his devotion to the Japanese would only tend to ruin him, since they had refused to take him into their service, and he dared not return to Russia. "How so?" inquired the interpreters. "Because," replied he, "I have offered to enter the Japanese service; nay, even to become a servant of the Governor:\* this is known to my companions, and must, of course, become known to the Russian Government; therefore, were I to return home, I should be condemned to the gallies." The interpreters, and Teske in particular, endeavoured to set his mind at ease. They told him, that his wish to enter the Japanese service was sufficiently excused by his situation. Teske added, that he had never mentioned to us Mr. Moor's proposal of entering the service of the Governor, which he had now himself disclosed, but that he trusted we would communicate nothing to the Russian Government which might tend to injure him.

We, on our part, assured him, that he had no reason to fear returning to Russia: our Government would not judge of his offence, if ever it came to

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\* This circumstance was not known to us before.

their knowledge, with the severity which he anticipated. But Mr. Moor was far from being satisfied. Some secrets, of which he had made a written disclosure to the Japanese, weighed upon his mind. This was what he alluded to when he spoke of his devotion to the Japanese. He endeavoured, by various means, to prove his attachment to Japan, and said, that if the Japanese could see what was passing within his heart, they would place greater confidence in him.

At length the interpreters informed him that even a Japanese, who should live for any length of time in a foreign country, would forfeit the confidence of his countrymen; how then, said they, can we venture to take a foreigner into our service, whatever degree of attachment he may profess towards our nation? They further observed, that though a thousand Russians had been made prisoners by the Japanese, their fate would depend on two alternatives. If our declarations were confirmed by the Russian Government we should all be liberated; even such amongst us who might be unwilling to return, would be forcibly carried on board our ships: but in case the expected confirmation should not be received, we must remain in confinement without being permitted to enter into the Japanese service, or even to follow any kind of employment. The interpreters added, that if Mr. Moor had reason to dread the consequences of returning to Russia, the Japanese must sympathise in

his fate, but that their laws could not be violated in his favour.

On our informing the interpreters that the apprehensions expressed by Mr. Moor were totally unfounded, they represented to him that his fears arose merely out of the disordered state of his mind. But Mr. Moor declared himself to be perfectly collected, and observed, that the laws of Japan were severe and barbarous. The interpreters replied that he might, indeed, think them so, but that the Japanese considered them extremely lenient and good.

On this occasion they explained to us the grounds on which their laws prohibit them from reposing any trust in Japanese subjects who have lived in foreign countries. The great mass of mankind, said they, resemble children ; they soon become weary of what they possess, and willingly give up every thing for the sake of novelty. When they hear of certain things being better in foreign countries than in their own, they immediately wish to possess them, without reflecting that they might, perhaps, prove useless, or even injurious to them.

With regard to Mr. Moor's conduct, he still continued either to discourse like a madman, or remained totally silent. He once told me, in a determined tone, that he saw only two courses which he could take : we must either request that he and Alexei might first be permitted to go on

board the Russian vessels, when he would take measures to ensure our safety : \* if not, our refusal would compel him to adopt the only remaining alternative, which might, perhaps, prove fatal to us all, namely, he would inform the Japanese that the object of our voyage was to inspect their coasts, and that there was even a probability of the Russians declaring war against them. I replied, that we were not to be intimidated by threats of this kind. We knew, from experience, the disposition of the Japanese ; they would, of course, come to no speedy decision on his representation ; and that, in the meanwhile, communications might take place, and all would, probably, terminate favourably to us. The sailors, with tears, entreated that he would not act so dishonourably, assuring him, that on their return to Russia, they would never divulge a syllable which might operate to his disadvantage. “ I know well,” replied he, “ what I have to expect : I recollect that when we were in the presence of the Bunyo, Schkajeff, in a threatening tone, inquired whether I entertained thoughts of returning to Russia ? ” The words which Schkajeff uttered on that occasion had apparently made a deep impression on his mind ; he frequently alluded to them.

On my asking him what would be his feel-

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\* We were not inclined to give credit to this assurance. The reason may be easily guessed.

ings, were he to succeed in convincing the Japanese of the truth of his assertions, and should thereby induce them to entrap our countrymen, he made me various incoherent answers. Even allowing, continued I, that the Japanese should capture our vessels, the truth may sooner or later come to light, and we be sent back to Russia, what then would become of you? I should then only undergo the same punishment as I must were I to return now, replied he. I endeavoured to console him, and observed, that he was not responsible for his conduct, as he was evidently labouring under derangement.

When I asked him what rendered him so impatient to go first on board the Russian vessels, he constantly varied in his answers. Sometimes, he said, he wished to be the instrument of reconciliation between two nations, and thus to expiate his faults; then he expressed a wish to warn our countrymen of the snares which the Japanese had laid for them, or to persuade them to send from the ships some cannon and other things as pledges for the restoration of the articles of which Chwostoff had robbed the Japanese.\* These singular

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\* We afterwards learned, from Alexei, the real cause which had induced Mr. Moor so obstinately to insist on our soliciting the Japanese to send him and Alexei first on board the Russian ships. One of the guards had informed him, probably in jest, that the Bunyo really entertained the design of sending him first on board, but that our entreaties had prevented this intention from being carried into effect. This was, however, untrue.

answers sufficiently proved that he was occasionally under the influence of derangement.

Though Mr. Moor found that his menaces made no impression on us, he did not, on that account, cease to harass us. He sometimes told the interpreters what threats he had held out to us. They, however, paid no regard to this discourse, which was directly aimed at our ruin. They called him a madman, and instead of making replies consistent with his applications, referred to a physician. After some time it was, indeed, found necessary to place him under the care of a physician ; but no investigation was ever instituted in order to ascertain whether he had been in his right senses at the time he uttered these expressions. This circumstance led Mr. Chlebnikoff to believe that the Japanese were practising some artifice ; that they pretended to believe Mr. Moor insane, in order to throw us off our guard, and to deceive the sailors, who were to be sent as messengers to our countrymen ; but that their real design was to capture the Russian ships by some stratagem, after which they would, probably, inquire whether or not Mr. Moor had spoken truth. This suspicion, groundless as it appeared, induced me to write five notes, addressed to Captain Rikord, which the sailors and Alexei stitched within the lining of their jackets ; for, as it was not known which might be sent off, it was necessary that each should have one in his possession. These notes I directed



to be delivered to the commander, whoever he might be, of the Russian ships, on board of which any of our sailors might be put by the Japanese. The distrust which Mr. Chlebnikoff entertained of the sincerity of the Japanese was certainly pushed to the extreme of improbability ; still, however, it was proper to warn our countrymen, lest, by any imprudent confidence, they might have been plunged into a state of wretchedness similar to our own.

The five notes I wrote were all to the same purport, and contained an exhortation, to Captain Rikord, or the Russian commanding officer, to observe the utmost caution in his communications with the Japanese, and not to suffer his boats to approach within gun-shot of the garrison. I, however, requested him not to take offence at the tardy proceedings of the Japanese, as their laws prohibited them from doing any thing with precipitancy, and obliged them to submit every affair of importance to the consideration of their Government. I, moreover, stated all that Mr. Moor had disclosed to the Japanese, in order that he might be prepared to answer all the questions that would, probably, be put to him in the course of his examination. In conclusion, I observed that there was every reason to hope for reconciliation with the Japanese ; and that, in course of time, commercial relations might probably be established between them and Russia.

Finding that all his plans proved unsuccessful, Mr. Moor seemed lost in despair. On two or three occasions he attempted to put a period to his existence ; but his designs were discovered by the guards, in time to prevent their execution. It sometimes struck me that these attempts were mere artifice ; for had he really intended to commit suicide, he might easily have found an opportunity to carry his horrible design into execution without being observed. But whatever might be the fact, the Japanese began to watch him with the utmost strictness ; even whilst he was asleep, one always sat near him, to listen whether he continued to breathe ; and if, for a moment, his respiration was not heard, the sentinel would strip down the quilt of his bed to ascertain that he was still living. They likewise watched me with much attention. This caution may be readily accounted for ; had any of our party committed suicide, not merely the guards who were near us, but likewise our surviving companions, and the soldiers stationed on the outside of the house, who had no communication with us, would have been answerable for it. Such is the singular severity of the Japanese laws !

The precautions which the Japanese had adopted, having deprived Mr. Moor of all opportunity of putting an end to his existence, he made every possible endeavour to prevent any negociation between the Russians and the Japanese. He advised the latter to demand, on the arrival of our ships,

that their cannon, and arms of every kind, should be sent ashore as pledges, to remain in the hands of the Japanese until the property, which Chwostoff had robbed them of, was restored. They replied, however, that if the Japanese Emperor should be convinced that the Russian Government had no connection with the proceedings of the Company's ships, he would regard the robbery as an act of private aggression; and in that case, how could a great monarch require that another should indemnify his subjects for losses which they may have sustained by robbery?—They besides, added, that their Emperor had long since compensated the individuals, whose property was carried off by Chwostoff, for the loss they sustained.

Mr. Moor now appeared to be driven to the last extremity. He frequently refused to taste food for several days together, and all our endeavours to encourage and console him proved unavailing. For my own part, I now augured no good from all that was passing. The indifference with which the interpreters listened to the declarations of Mr. Moor was to me unaccountable. It in no way corresponded with the curiosity natural to the Japanese, who were accustomed to make the most minute and circumstantial inquiries respecting the merest trifles. I considered the matter in every point of view, without being able to come to any fixed opinion on the subject. Did the Japanese regard Mr. Moor as a madman, on whose declarations no reliance could be placed? Did the interpreters,

after the supposed termination of the inquiry into our case, and after having been rewarded for their conduct, apprehend disagreeable consequences to themselves, if difficulties were now created by the disclosure of new and important circumstances? Or were Mr. Moor's words only apparently disregarded, in order that some more of our countrymen might be inveigled into a snare?

Though we could not believe Teske capable of so treacherously deceiving us, yet we recollected that he might, perhaps, be only doing what he considered his duty, in fulfilling the orders of his Government, which, according to the representations of the Japanese themselves, was capable of almost any atrocity. In this state of doubt and perplexity we were doomed to await the unravelling of the mystery.

On the 10th of May, the note which we had written, to be dispatched to the different harbours, and sent on board our vessels, was returned from the capital. The Government had approved of its contents, and, consequently, not a single letter could be altered. Having made five copies, and affixed our signatures to each, they were dispatched on the same day to their several destinations. These notes were to the following effect:—

“ We are all, both officers and seamen, and  
“ the Kurile Alexei, alive, and reside in Matsmai.

“ WASSILY GOLOWNIN.

“ FEODOR MOOR.”

“ May 10th, 1818.”

Mr. Chlebnikoff was unable to sign the notes on account of severe illness.

The season had now returned when we daily expected to hear of the arrival of the Russian vessels. From Captain Rikord's letter, I concluded that he would sail straight to Matsmai. Every violent gale of wind made me tremble for the safety of our ships, on account of the fogs, which, in this quarter of the world, constantly accompany the east wind. Violent storms, accompanied by fogs and rain, frequently arise in these ports during the months of May, June and July, which are precisely the periods when the weather is fair and the wind moderate in the northern hemisphere. Even when at sea, I never watched the state of the weather with more exactness than I did at this time. I marked down every variation however slight. The following memoranda may enable the reader to form some notion of a Japanese summer :—

During the whole of the 30th and 31st of May, and 1st of June, a violent east wind blew without intermission, accompanied by fogs and rain.

On the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th of June, the same kind of weather prevailed, and for several succeeding days it likewise continued exceedingly stormy; the wind invariably blowing from the east.

In the expectation that we would be sent on board the Russian ships, the Japanese supplied us with materials for new suits of clothes, that we might make a decent appearance in the presence

of our countrymen. Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff, and I, were provided with fine silken stuffs for our clothes and the lining ; the sailors had the cotton cloth called *momba*, of which I have before spoken, delivered to them. The Japanese made for Alexei a dress after their own fashion.

At length, on the 19th of June, we were informed that a Japanese vessel, lying at anchor off a promontory in the Island of Kunashier, had observed a Russian three-masted ship sail round the Cape, and enter Kunashier harbour. The Japanese vessel immediately weighed anchor, and brought information of this event to Chakodade. On the 20th of June the arrival of the *Diana* in Kunashier was officially confirmed ; but nothing more was said on the subject.

On the following day the interpreters, by order of their superiors, asked me which of the sailors I wished to send on board ? That I might avoid shewing any preference to one more than another, I determined that chance should decide the matter ; and the lot happened to fall to Simanoff. I requested that the Governor would permit Alexei to accompany him. This he consented to, and they received orders to prepare for their departure. On the same day Mr. Moor and I were conducted to the castle, where the two Ginmiyagus, in the presence of other officers, formally inquired whether we were perfectly satisfied that Alexei and Simanoff should be sent on board the *Diana* ? I replied in

the affirmative : but Mr. Moor remained silent. Sampey then informed us, that he himself intended to depart for Kunashier, for the purpose of treating with Captain Rikord ; he, at the same time, promised to bring the affair to a conclusion, and assured us, that Alexei and Simanoff should experience every accommodation during their voyage. We were then dismissed.

Mr. Moor and I were again conducted to the castle on the 22nd of June, when the papers, which had been sent ashore by Captain Rikord, were presented to us. They consisted of two letters, the one addressed to the commander of Kunashier, and the other to me. In the former, he acquainted the Japanese of his arrival and friendly intentions, together with the return of their countryman, Tachaty-Kachi, and two sailors whom he had carried off in the preceding year. Two Japanese and a Kurile had died in Kamtschatka, though every endeavour had been made to save their lives.\* He,

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\* A few months previous to the arrival of Captain Rikord, the relations of Tachaty-Kachi, who were much concerned for his fate, inquired of a priest in Chakodade whether Kachi would ever return to his native country ? This priest pretended to possess the gift of foretelling future events. He accordingly pronounced the following prophecy : " Kachi will return in the ensuing summer with two of his companions, the remaining two have perished in a foreign land."—The Japanese informed us of this prediction ; but we laughed, and told them that, in Europe, such a prophet would be punished for an impostor, and he doubtless was one. The Japanese, however, thought otherwise, and assured us that many of the for-

besides, described Tachaty-Kachi as an intelligent and good principled man, who would, of course, convince the Japanese of the peaceable disposition of Russia, and would prevail on them to liberate us ; but intimated, that, if they did not set us at liberty, they might apprehend serious consequences. He concluded by saying that he trusted to the pacific character and generosity of the Japanese, and waited for an answer to this letter.

Mr. Rikord, in his letter to me, requested that I would return an answer, to acquaint him with the state of our health, and also what was our situation in other respects. It was, therefore, evident that Mr. Rikord had written the letter before he received the papers which had been' dispatched to him. This circumstance surprised us not a little, for the Japanese had informed us that the orders issued by the Government required that these papers should be conveyed, by Kuriles, on board the first Russian ship which might appear on the coast. We were directed to take copies of both letters in presence of the officers, and in the evening we made translations of them. On the following day

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mer prophecies of this priest had been fulfilled. Captain Rikord's subsequent arrival of course inspired them with fresh confidence in the prophetic powers of their priest, and they triumphantly inquired whether we were not convinced that he possessed the gift of penetrating into futurity? They expressed no little astonishment when we declared all his successful predictions to be the effect of mere chance.



the originals, together with the translations, were sent off to the capital.

On the 24th of June, Sampey, Kumaddscherö, Simanoff and Alexei sailed for Kunashier. I took every opportunity of instructing Simanoff what to communicate to the officers of the *Diana* respecting the fortifications, military power, and tactics of the Japanese, and what would be the most advantageous mode of attacking them in case such a proceeding should be found necessary. He seemed perfectly to understand my directions and to be prepared to furnish his countrymen with much important information.\* Previously to his departure, Simanoff informed me that Mr. Moor had directed him to request Captain Rikord to send ashore the property which he had left on board the *Diana* at the time he was made prisoner. I knew not what could be his object in making this application. I, however, ordered Simanoff to deliver the message to Captain Rikord, and, at the same time, to request that he would not send the property on shore, as, in doing so, he might involve us in fresh difficulties. Mr. Chlebnikoff sent a note by Simanoff in which he warned Captain Rikord not to place too much confidence in the Japanese.

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\* I afterwards found I had formed an erroneous opinion of Simanoff; for, before he reached the *Diana*, he had forgotten nearly the whole of what I had stated, and could repeat only a few unconnected fragments of my instructions.

We heard no accounts from Kunashier until the 2nd of June, when a short letter was brought to us, addressed by Mr. Rikord to the Governor of that island. It merely contained his thanks for the receipt of the note we had written, which, he observed, fully satisfied him with respect to our safety. We were required to translate this letter, and both original and translation were immediately dispatched to Yeddo.

On the 19th of July, Mr. Moor and I were carried before the Bunyo, and shewn an official letter from Captain Rikord to Takahassy-Sampey, together with a letter to me and one to Mr. Moor. In the first letter Captain Rikord thanked the Japanese Government for their wish to correspond with the Russians, and promised immediately to sail back to Okotzk and to return in September provided with the Declaration required by the Japanese Government. As he was unacquainted with the entrance of the harbour of Chakodade, he wished to put into Enderino,\* which had been visited by Captain Broughton, and requested that a skilful pilot might be sent thither to conduct the ship to Chakodade. Finally, he thanked Sampey for having permitted Simanoff to go on board the *Diana*. His letter to me commenced with the words which we had agreed should be the token of his having received my note; he congratulated us

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\* Edomo is the name which the Japanese give to this harbour.

on our approaching liberation, and promised to return without fail in September. He advised Mr. Moor to be patient, and not to give way to despair, observing that his countrymen, at home, had had no small share of distress, difficulty and danger to contend with.

The Bunyo withdrew after having heard an explanation of these papers. We then took copies and prepared translations, which were immediately sent to Yeddo.

The Japanese informed us that the *Diana* left Kumashier immediately after these papers were sent ashore. According to our calculation this must have been on the 10th of July. A few days afterwards, Sampey, Kumaddschero, and our two companions, returned to Matsmai. The reader may perhaps conjecture what were our feelings on again beholding them. It seemed as if missionaries, sent out by the dead, had returned from the land of the living ! For two whole years we had heard no accounts from Russia or any other part of the world. We were even ignorant of the events which were passing in Japan. Our curiosity, therefore, on the return of our companions, was unbounded. We hoped to be circumstantially informed of all that had taken place in Russia and other parts of Europe—but in this we were sadly disappointed. Simanoff was one of those men to whom the term *blockhead* may be applied in its fullest acceptation. Turks and French

were all one to him. He had never troubled himself with politics during the whole course of his life. All the information we could obtain from him was, that the French, together with the troops of three other nations, the names of which he did not know, had entered Russia ; that they had been defeated in an engagement which took place about sixty wersts from Smolensko, where several thousands of their troops were killed ; that the remainder, under Bonaparte, had made a precipitate retreat.\* But how all this had taken place, who commanded the armies, and what was the actual state of the operations, he had totally forgotten. We, however, consoled ourselves with the reflection that Simanoff was not given to romancing, and that none of his news, as far as he was concerned, could be liable to the suspicion of fabrication. He had been told, on board the *Diana*, that his friend *Fomka Mitrofanoff* was married, that *Seniuschka Chlebalin* was dead, and a variety of other events of similar importance, and he gave as detailed a description of the wedding and funeral as if he had been present. His companions listened with the deepest interest to these accounts which did not go beyond the narrow circle of their ideas.

It is of course unnecessary to detain the

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\* When the *Diana* left Kamtschatka the particulars of the battle of Smolensko were not known there.

reader by a repetition of what Simanoff stated respecting the conferences between the Japanese and our countrymen. As Captain Rikord's Narrative, which is subjoined to this volume, contains a full and accurate account of all that occurred in the negotiations, I shall therefore merely mention what the Japanese themselves disclosed on the subject. Kumaddscheru, who had been present with Sampei during the negotiations, gave us reason to hope for the most favourable result; the prospect of which he ascribed entirely to the ability and prudent conduct of Captain Rikord, who had so won the good will of Tachatai-Kachi, and impressed him with so high an idea of the honour and rectitude of the Russians, that this Japanese declared himself willing to make oath, in the presence of the highest authorities, to his belief in all our statements: Kachi, even accused Gorodsee, the Japanese who had returned from Russia, of falsehood; called him a dishonourable wretch! and protested that he would rather forfeit his life than recognise the opinion which the Japanese Government had hitherto entertained of the Russians as well founded. These words had such an influence over Sampei that he refrained from urging certain conditions which he, at first, intended to insist on in his negotiation with Captain Rikord. Among others he departed from his original proposition for a complete restoration of all the Japanese arms that Chvostoff

had carried off, which he reduced ~~to a~~ demand for such only as could be collected in Okotzk ; and in case none could be recovered, he observed that the Japanese would be satisfied with the assurance, that the attack was not authorised by the Russian Government. Tachatai-kachi knew not how to bestow sufficient commendation on Captain Rikord, the officers of the *Diana*, and all the individuals he had known in Kamtschatka.

He arrived at Matsmai in company with Sampei ; but he was not permitted to pay us a visit, notwithstanding the infinite gratification which it would have afforded both to him and ourselves. The Japanese laws required that he should have a guard set over him. His relations and friends were, indeed, allowed to see him, and to remain with him as long as they pleased, but an imperial soldier was present the whole time of their visit.

Though Simanoff could give us so little information concerning the political situation of Europe, it furnished a subject for the endless chattering of the Japanese. They informed us that two large Dutch ships, laden with East India goods, had arrived at Nangasaky, from Batavia.\* The Dutch

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\* The Japanese gave us a minute description of these vessels, in which their length, breadth, depth, burthen in tons, the number of the crew on board each, and to what nation each individual belonged ; in short, every particular was accurately stated. One

assured the Japanese, that in consequence of a maritime war between England and Holland, they had been unable to bring with them any European goods; but as the Dutch and English East India Companies had, at that time, concluded peace, and traded with each other, they were under the necessity of conveying Bengal goods to Japan. The Japanese now asked me whether this statement could, consistently with the practice of European warfare, be true. I frankly told them that there was some deception at the bottom of the statement. The fact, we told them was, that the English had taken Batavia, and that the Dutch, it appeared, had fabricated this story, as they were apprehensive that the Japanese would not trade with them if they knew that their chief possession was in the hands of foreigners. I proposed that the Japanese should inform the Dutch who had arrived at Nangasaky, that they had learned in their negotiations with the Russians, that Batavia was taken by the Eng-

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these vessels must have been very large, since it was upwards of one hundred and thirty feet in length, and had more than one hundred men on board. An elephant, which the Dutch had brought from the Island of Sumatra as a present for the Japanese Emperor, was described with the greatest minuteness imaginable. No circumstance was omitted, the place of his nativity, his age, length, height, thickness, the food he was accustomed to consume, and how many times in course of the day, and in what portions he was supplied with the different articles, were all carefully noted. A native of Sumatra, who was the keeper of the elephant was described with corresponding precision.

lish, and to demand some explanation from them.\* The Japanese themselves concurred in opinion with me; at their request I drew up my advice in writing, and it was dispatched to Yeddo. What I stated in this instance was the more readily attended to, as I had, on a former occasion, communicated an important fact respecting Holland, which I afterwards had the opportunity of proving. It was as follows:—The Dutchmen who lived in Nangasaky had declared to the Japanese that their Republican Government had been converted into a kingdom, and that a brother of the French Emperor had become their King. They did not, however, state that Holland had ceased to be an independent state, and had become a province of France; but of this circumstance they were probably ignorant, as no Dutch vessel had entered Nangasaky for several years. We frequently spoke to the interpreters on this subject; but they listened to us with indifference, and would not conceive it possible that Napoleon should so soon deprive his brother of the kingdom he had given him. Nothing appeared to

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\* Two months after this we learned from the interpreter that the Dutch had confessed their imposition, and acknowledged that Batavia had been taken by the English, and that the Japanese ordinance by which the Dutch ships were permitted annually to enter the harbour of Nangasaky, had fallen into their hands. They added, that on this occasion, they were compelled to bring English goods to Japan. After this explanation the Japanese laid both the vessels and goods under embargo until further arrangements should be made.



the Japanese more improbable than this sudden manner in which kings and kingdoms were represented to be created and overthrown in Europe. At length, Mr. Moor looking over some Russian Gazettes which had been sent ashore along with the books from the *Diana*, accidentally found Napoleon's manifesto, in which Amsterdam was raised to the rank of third city of the French empire. Mr. Moor immediately shewed this manifesto to the interpreters, who could, by this time, read Russian with tolerable facility, and they zealously commenced making a translation of it, which, when completed, was sent off to Yeddo. When the Dutch, residing in Nangasaky, were questioned respecting this event, they replied, that they were totally ignorant of it; a circumstance which was by no means improbable.

I must here observe, that the Japanese do not entertain so favourable an opinion of the Dutch as they formerly did. The Dutch interpreter told us that, during the last five years, no vessel belonging to Holland had entered Nangasaky, and that the Dutch, who lived there, had been exposed to the greatest privations, and even reduced to the necessity of selling the glass panes of their windows, in order to obtain the means of supporting their existence. On our inquiring why the Japanese Government did not provide for their maintenance, as their expenses would afterwards be repaid, the interpreter replied, that the Japanese did not now

think so well of the Dutch as they ~~once~~ had done, and that, as Holland had now become a French province, they would certainly break off all intercourse with them.\*

The most important intelligence which the Dutch ships arrived at Nangasaky, had brought, was an account of the taking of Moscow. We were told that the Russians, in a fit of despair, had abandoned and burnt their capital, and that the whole of Russia, as far as Moscow, was under the dominion of the French. We laughed at this story, and assured the Japanese that it could not possibly be true. We expressed our doubts on this subject, from real conviction, and not from any feeling of arrogance. We, indeed, believed it possible that the enemy might have concluded a peace on terms advantageous to himself, but as to the loss of Moscow, we looked upon that statement as an invention of the Dutch, and it never cost us a moment's uneasiness.

On the 21st of August, Kumaddschero secretly informed us that in about five or six days, we should be removed to a house which was preparing for our reception. This turned out to be true. On the 26th, we were conducted to the castle, where we found all the officers of the city in the great

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\* Since the old order of things is re-established in Europe, and Holland is again restored to its former state, the Japanese will doubtless consent to carry on trade with the Dutch under the old restrictions.

saloon, in which Arrao-Madsimano-Kami used formerly to receive us. The academician and the Dutch interpreter\* were likewise there, seated near the officers, but on seats somewhat lower. The Governor entered soon after our arrival. Having taken his seat, he drew a paper from his bosom, and with the assistance of the interpreter, intimated that it was an order relative to us, which had been transmitted to him from the capital. He read it, and desired the interpreter to translate it to us. It was to the following purport :—That if the Russian vessel, according to the promise of Captain Rikord, should return that year to Chakodade, with the explanation required by the Japanese, and if the Governor should look upon that explanation as satisfactory, the Government authorised him to liberate us without delay. The Governor informed us that, in conformity with these orders, we must, in the course of a few days, depart for Chakodade, whither he was likewise about to proceed, and that he would see us on his arrival there. He then took his leave, wishing us health and a safe journey.

✱ When he had departed, we also quitted the

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\* After their arrival at Matsmai, these two men were always present during our interviews with the officers, and whilst we were writing down our translations. We once asked Teske the reason of this, and he told us that the Governor wished that they should be witnesses to his conduct, lest some one might make a false representation of it to the Government, as Mamia-Rinso, had done with regard to the first Banyo. Thus in Japan, as well as elsewhere, it is necessary to guard against false accusations.

saloon, but previously to his retiring, we expressed our thanks for the kindness he had shewn to us.

Mr. Moor declared he was unworthy of the favours which the Japanese had conferred upon him; but to what particular acts of favour he alluded, or what he meant by this statement, we were unable to guess.

## CHAPTER V.

FROM the castle we were conducted to the house which we had formerly inhabited. It had, however, undergone a great change during our absence, and was now much improved. The palisades, behind which armed soldiers were constantly stationed, gave it formerly the appearance of a prison ; but these were now removed, and our guards had neither muskets nor bows and arrows. A very neat apartment was assigned to me, a separate one to Mr. Moor and Mr. Chlebnikoff, and a third to the sailors and Alexei. Our food was likewise superior in quality to that which we had before been accustomed to. It was served up to us in beautiful lacquered vessels, by well dressed attendants, who treated us with every mark of respect.

We had no sooner arrived at our new residence, than several officers, with their children, came to offer us their congratulations, and to bid us farewell. Some of these men presented us with farewell cards in the Russian language, into which the interpreters had translated them : they merely contained an adieu, and a wish that we might have a safe voyage. Last of all came the head of the Merchants' Company, or Chief Magistrate of the City, with his two assistants, and presented us with

a box of comfits. In the countenances of all the Japanese by whom we were visited, we could read an unfeigned expression of joy for our good fortune, and their kind behaviour frequently caused us to shed tears. Mr. Chlebnikoff proposed that we should address a letter of thanks to the Governor, which I readily agreed to, and begged that he would himself be the writer of it. The letter was accordingly written, translated into Japanese, and forwarded to the Governor, who, as our interpreters informed us, received it with the strongest emotions of sensibility.

The Japanese now began to treat us like guests rather than prisoners. When our sailors sometimes shewed an inclination to drink more spirits than was consistent with temperance, their attendants were directed not to serve it out to them without my consent, and only in such quantities as I should think fit to order. They were thus taught again to look upon me as their commander, which the Japanese never before required them to do.

As we were now convinced that the Japanese entertained the design of setting us at liberty, we wished to testify our gratitude to them as far as lay in our power, Mr. Chlebnikoff presented and explained to the academician the tables which he had prepared. I translated from the work of M. Libes, every thing relative to the latest discoveries in astronomy, and gave him the extracts, together with my own observations upon them. We wished to make

presents of all our books and other property, to those Japanese who had been most about us, and had manifested the greatest interest in our fate. They, however, said they could not accept them without the permission of their Government, for which they promised to apply.

After the Bunyo had declared that it was the intention of the Japanese Government to grant us our liberty, we remained in Matsmai only three days, during which time we were liberally supplied with breakfast and dinner from the Governor's kitchen, and the interpreters received orders to give us entertainments.

We departed on the morning of the 10th of August, and were conducted through the city with great ceremony. The people, who had assembled in vast multitudes in the streets, all pressed forward to bid us farewell. Notwithstanding that Mr. Chlebnikoff complained of such pain in his feet, that he could with difficulty stand upright, yet the Japanese required him to proceed on foot through the streets; but when we got out of the city, they left it to our own choice either to walk or ride, as we pleased. Our escort consisted of an officer of the rank denominated *Shtoyagu*, our interpreter, Teske and his brother, eight common soldiers, our servants, together with a number of litter-bearers, grooms for the horses, &c. who were occasionally relieved. The officer, who was a man of very agreeable manners, treated us with great attention. Whenever

we stopped to rest, he seated himself beside us, gave us part of his own tobacco, and shewed us many acts of kindness.

On arriving at the place where we passed the night, I observed to Teske that our departure from Matsmai had taken place on a day which is celebrated with great pomp in Russia; namely, the anniversary of the Saint whose name our Emperor bears. The Japanese, without any request on our part, immediately filled out some of their best *sagi*, and we drank several glasses to the health of his Imperial Majesty. Our friends the Japanese followed our example, and repeated the words. *Long live the Emperor Alexander!* the meaning of which Teske explained to them.

In returning to Chakodade, we took the same road by which we had travelled from that city to Matsmai, and we always halted in the same villages; but we now, enjoyed greater freedom, and our food was of a superior quality. The Japanese, however, kept a strict watch over Mr. Moor. They were apprehensive that distress of mind might tempt him to commit suicide, for, as we passed through the city, his countenance was bathed in tears, and he was observed to weep on several occasions during our journey. When the Japanese inquired the cause of his affliction when all were happy around him, he replied that he was unworthy of the kindness which they had



shewn him, and that his tears were occasioned by remorse. To us, however, he declared that his uneasiness arose from the deceit and treachery of the Japanese; who, he assured us, were bent on our destruction. But all this was mere artifice! Though Mr. Moor's assertions were ludicrous in the extreme, yet the poor sailors placed implicit faith in them, and they manifested no slight degree of apprehension. The singular conduct of Mr. Moor was, and still remains, an enigma of which I can give no explanation.

On the 2d of September we entered Chakodade, amidst a vast throng of spectators. The residence assigned to us was an imperial building, in the vicinity of the garrison. Our apartment was separated by a gallery from a little garden. To the palisades of the gallery wooden shutters were fastened, which were close at the bottom, but open about three feet distant from the top of the gallery. The light therefore penetrated but faintly through these apertures, and no external objects were visible. In these respects our house bore some resemblance to a prison, though it was extremely clean and very neatly furnished. In the course of a few days, however, these shutters were at our request removed; and, besides enjoying light, we had an unobstructed view of the garden. In addition to our usual repasts, we were now treated with desserts, consisting of apples,

pears and sweetmeats ; and, according to the Japanese custom, these desserts were always served up one hour before dinner.

A short time after our arrival in Chakodade, we were visited by the governor of the city, the Ginmiyaku COOD-SIMOTO-CHIOGORO. He inquired after our health, and observed that the house was much too small for our accommodation, but as a vast number of officers were at that time in the city, and as the Bunyo was likewise expected, all the best houses had been engaged for them. He added, that the Russian vessel would, in all probability, arrive, and we should be sent back to our native country ; but that if, contrary to all expectation, it did not come to Chakodade, another house would be provided for our winter residence.

In the course of a few days, the Ginmiyaku, Sampey, the academician, the Dutch interpreter, and Kumaddschero, arrived at Chakodade by sea. The interpreter and the academicians immediately paid us a visit ; they afterwards spent the whole of their time in our society, remaining with us from morning till night, and they even gave orders that their meals should be sent to our house. They spared no pains to obtain all the information they could collect from us before the *Diana* should arrive. The Dutch interpreter transcribed several sheets of Tatischtschew's French and Russian Dictionary, and he adopted the plan

of translating the Russian significations of the French words into Japanese. He thus made himself acquainted with the peculiar meaning of each word better than he could have done by any other method. To us, however, this occupation proved extremely tedious and troublesome. I shall merely state one example, by which the reader may form some notion of the difficulties we had to encounter.

Among the Russian words which the Japanese had set down in the lexicon made at Matsmai was *DOSTOINY* (*worthy*), which we had translated to them by *meritorious*, *respectable*, &c. We never entered into critical illustrations of words, knowing that it would be no easy task to make our pupils comprehend them. When the Japanese came to the word *digne*, which, in the French Russian dictionary, was unluckily exemplified by the phrase, "worthy of the gallows," they immediately concluded that the "gallows" must be some high office or distinguished reward. Notwithstanding all the pains we took to elucidate the meaning of the word *gallows*, the Japanese could not easily extricate themselves from the confusion of ideas in which they were involved by the different definitions.—"A meritorious, respectable man, worthy of the gallows!" was an association which they had formed in their minds, and which they repeated with amazement. We employed all our knowledge of the Japanese language and sum-

moned all our pantomimic powers to facilitate our explanations to the interpreters; and we were obliged to quote a number of examples in which the word *worthy* corresponded in signification with the several translations given of it, and was made to apply to very different objects. When occurrences of this kind took place (and they were by no means unfrequent), the Japanese would hang their heads on one side\* and exclaim: *Musgassi kodoba! khanakhanda musgassi kodoba!* (a difficult language! an extremely difficult language!)

The Dutch interpreter also undertook to translate, into Japanese, a small Russian book, on the subject of vaccine inoculation. The volume was brought to Japan by Leonsaimo, who had received it as a present from a Russian physician.† On the other hand, the academician laboured to collect all possible information from the Physics of Libes.

But the office which Teske performed was to us the most interesting and important of any. He told us, by order of the Bunyo, that his Government entertained doubts of Laxman and Resanoff having fully understood the explanations which had been given in answer to their inquiries; for the embassy of Resanoff appeared to be altogether inconsistent with the intimation made to Laxman by the Japanese Government, that a Russian ship would be admitted

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\* A movement which corresponds with the European shrug of the shoulders.

† The translation was completed before our departure.

into Nangasaky, to treat respecting commercial relations. Resanoff had himself, on various occasions, manifested ill humour, or rather hatred, towards the Japanese, and they therefore suspected that he had not received a correct translation of the papers, and, consequently, could not be acquainted with the nature of their laws. But Teske said, as his Government was fully convinced of the justice and philanthropy of the Emperor of Russia, who, besides watching over the welfare of his own subjects, ensured the happiness and prosperity of neighbouring nations, great anxiety was now manifested that such a monarch should not, through the misrepresentations of his Ambassadors, imbibe an erroneous opinion of the Japanese. The Government, therefore, wished, that we, together with the interpreters, should make new translations into Russian, of the original rescripts addressed to Laxman and Resanoff; and that, on our arrival in Russia, we should transmit the translations to the Government, or, if possible, to the Emperor himself. For the same purpose the Japanese requested, that we would take copies of Chawostoff's two documents, to which I have before alluded.

In translating these papers our interpreters sought to adhere as closely as possible to the literal sense; we likewise were no less desirous of becoming acquainted with the peculiar idioms of the Japanese language, and of obtaining a correct translation of these interesting and important documents. We.

therefore, paid no attention to elegance of style, and deviated as little from the original as the spirit of our own language would admit. On my return to Russia I laid these papers before the Government.

Our interpreters, moreover gave us a complete history of the negotiations between the Japanese and Laxman and Resanoff; but I will not trespass on the patience of the reader, by detailing the particulars they stated. The rescript delivered to Laxman, evidently proves that the Japanese were not very well satisfied with his conduct; nevertheless, he succeeded in his mission, and obtained an authority for sending an envoy to Nangasaky, for the purpose of further communications. This permission shews, beyond a doubt, that the Japanese Government was, at that time, willing to enter into a commercial intercourse with Russia.

With the assistance of the Japanese we now proceeded to translate the paper, which was to be delivered with us on board of Captain Rikord's ship. It was to the following purport;—

#### “ TRANSLATION.—

##### “ NOTIFICATION.

“ From the Ginmiyaks, the chief Commanders  
“ next to the Bunyo of Matsmai.

“ Twenty-two years ago a Russian vessel ar-  
“ rived at Matsmai, and eleven years ago another  
“ came to Nangasaky. Though the laws of our

“ country were, on both these occasions, minutely  
“ explained, yet we are of opinion that we have  
“ not been clearly understood on your part, owing  
“ to the great dissimilarity between our language  
“ and writing.\* However, as we have now de-  
“ tained you, it will be easy to give you an expla-  
“ nation of these matters. When you return to  
“ Russia, communicate to the Commanders of the  
“ coasts of Kamtschatka, Okotzk and others, the  
“ declaration of our Bunyo,† which will acquaint  
“ them with the nature of the Japanese laws with  
“ respect to the arrival of foreign ships, and pre-  
“ vent a repetition of similar transgressions on  
“ your part.

“ In our country the Christian religion is  
“ strictly prohibited, and European vessels are not  
“ suffered to enter any Japanese harbour, except  
“ Nangasaky. This law does not extend to Russian  
“ vessels only. It has not this year been enforced  
“ in Kunashier, because we wished to communicate  
“ with your countrymen, and orders have been is-  
“ sued to prevent firing against the vessel which is  
“ expected: but all that may henceforth present

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\* On translating this passage Teske laughed, and candidly avowed that it was a mere artifice, to furnish the Japanese Government with some pretence for liberating us without a violation of their laws. There was no ground for supposing that Laxman and Resanoff had misunderstood any thing that was stated to them. Teske assured us, that his countrymen were complete adepts in managing affairs of this kind, and that they never scrupled at making any diplomatic equivocation.

† A paper which was to be given to Captain Rikord,

“ themselves will be driven back by cannon-balls.  
“ Bear in mind this declaration, and you cannot  
“ complain if, at any future period, you should ex-  
“ perience a misfortune in consequence of your  
“ disregard of it.

“ Among us there exists this law ;—‘ If any  
“ European, residing in Japan, shall attempt to  
“ teach our people the Christian faith, he shall  
“ undergo a severe punishment, and shall not be  
“ restored to his native country.’ As you, how-  
“ ever, have not attempted so to do, you will ac-  
“ cordingly be permitted to return home. Think  
“ well on this.

“ About eight years ago, and three years pre-  
“ vious to the arrival of the Russian vessel at our  
“ Kurile Islands, Rashuauers\* were repeatedly sent  
“ from the islands under your dominion to inspect  
“ our islands. Although we were aware of their  
“ real intentions, yet we took pity on the Rashu-  
“ auers, who were compelled blindly to obey the  
“ commands of the Russians, and on two occasions  
“ we suffered them to depart.† But should they  
“ again return, in defiance of our prohibition, they  
“ will be seized and condemned to undergo a legal  
“ chastisement. Bear this likewise in recollection.

“ Our countrymen wish to carry on no  
“ commerce with foreign lands ; for we know no

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\* Thus the Japanese denominated our Kuriles, because they came from the Island of Rashaua.

† On the first occasion they were even conveyed back.



“ want of necessary things. Though foreigners  
 “ are permitted to trade at Nangasaky, even to that  
 “ harbour, only those are admitted with whom we  
 “ have for a long period maintained relations,  
 “ and we do not trade with them for the sake of  
 “ gain, but for other important objects. \* From  
 “ the repeated solicitations which you have hither-  
 “ to made to us, you evidently imagine that the  
 “ customs of our country resemble those of your  
 “ own ; but you are very wrong in thinking so.  
 “ In future, therefore, it will be better to say no  
 “ more about a commercial connexion.

“ TAKAHASSY-SAMPEI, (L. S.)

“ COOD-SIMOTO-CHIOGORO, (L. S.)”

“ Bunkwa, the 26th day of the 9th month  
 “ of the 10th year.”

(The seals of both these officers were affixed  
 to the original document. †)

“ Translated by

“ MURAKAMI-TESEKE.

“ WECHARA-KUMADDSCHERO.”

When the translation was completed, Teske,

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\* To procure various medicinal roots, which do not grow in Japan, and to be informed of the events passing in other nations, are two of the important objects here alluded to.

† Every Japanese carries a seal about him, which he frequently substitutes for his signature. For instance, when a person in military service reads the orders of his superior officer, which

by order of his superiors, observed to us that we must not, from the contents of this paper, infer that the Japanese entertained so great an abhorrence of the Christian faith as to regard all who acknowledged it as wicked and contemptible. On the contrary, added he, we know there are good and bad people in every country, and of all religions; the former are entitled to our love and respect, to whatever faith they may belong; but the latter we hate and despise. Teske, besides, reminded us that the strict prohibition of Christianity by the Japanese laws, was solely to be attributed to the mischievous civil wars which had arisen in Japan after its introduction.

The Schrabiyagu Otachi-Koeki about this time arrived at Chakodade. He was Governor of Kunashier during both the periods at which Captain Rikord visited that island. On his arrival, he immediately came to see us, and we observed a total change in his behaviour; for he now treated us with great civility and politeness, made inquiries respecting our health, and wished us a speedy and safe return to Russia. We were informed by Teske that the answer this officer gave to Captain Rikord in the preceding autumn, when he declared that we were all dead, was really contrived

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are usually written on long sheets of paper, he is required to affix his seal to them, and he cannot afterwards plead ignorance as his excuse for disobeying them.

with a hostile view ; but that, on the last arrival of the Russian vessel, Otachi-Koeki had endeavoured to make amends for his former misconduct. It appeared that the fortress of Kunashier was garrisoned by troops belonging to the Prince of Nambu. The commander of these troops, though a person of distinction, and an older man than Otachi-Koeki, was his inferior in command, because the latter governed the island on the part of the Emperor. The intention of the Japanese Government to treat with the Russians had been communicated to the Nambu chief, but he had received no instructions on the subject from his own prince. On the appearance of the *Diana* he, therefore, made preparations for firing upon her, in conformity with his former orders. This decree was, however, opposed by Otachi-Koeki, \* and the officer who was joined with him in the commission for treating with the Russians. They placed themselves before the cannon, and declared that if the Nambu chief had formed a determination to attack the Russians, he must first fire on them, and all the Japanese in the imperial service ; for that, as long as they lived, they would, at every

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\* Otachi-Koeki had requested that a colleague of equal rank with himself might be joined with him in this negotiation, in order that they might deliberate together on unexpected occurrences which required a prompt decision, and that the responsibility might rest on two persons instead of one.

hazard, prevent him from executing his purpose. The obstinate Nambu leader was thus brought to comply with the wishes of the imperial Government. We asked Teske how the Emperor would regard this refractory conduct on the part of the commandant of the garrison. The conduct of the commandant, replied he, must be decided upon by the Prince of Nambu. The Emperor will merely inquire why his orders were not earlier dispatched.

The two first weeks of September passed away, and we heard no tidings of the *Diana*. We feared that her departure had been delayed ; and that, during the late season of the year, she had encountered some accident in her dangerous passage. We, therefore, hoped that Captain Rikord had postponed his voyage until the following spring, and would willingly, on that account, have remained eight or nine months longer in captivity. But Captain Rikord's courage and indefatigable activity prompted him to use the utmost dispatch in a case which concerned the interests of the state. He was anxious to conclude, that very year, the correspondence which had been so happily begun, and to prove to the Japanese that the Russians knew how to keep a promise.

On the night of the 16th of September our interpreters surprised us with the agreeable tidings that a large European three-masted ship had been seen near Cape Ermio, forming the western

side of the bay, \* on which is situated the harbour of Endermo or Edomo, which Captain Rikord wished to enter, in order to obtain a pilot. No doubt was entertained of this vessel being the *Diana*. We had, however, to lament that continual western winds detained her at sea near these dangerous coasts. The interpreters further informed us, that on the *Diana* being observed, a courier had been sent off to the Bunyo who, it was expected, would immediately proceed to Chakodade.

We heard no more of the *Diana* until the evening of the 21st of September, when we were informed that she had been seen that day at noon, near the east side of Vulcan's Bay, endeavouring to enter the harbour of Edomo.

In the meanwhile a vast number of officers and soldiers arrived from all places in the vicinity of Chakodade, and curiosity induced them continually to come and see us. On seeing so many strange visitors, and recollecting that, during our journey to Chakodade, we had observed new batteries and barracks erected along the bay and the coasts, I began to suspect that the Japanese intended by some stratagem to capture the *Diana*, in revenge for Captain Rikord having seized one of their vessels and several men, on which occasion nine of

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\* Captain Broughton gave to this place the name of Vulcan's Bay, from the volcano which is in its neighbourhood.

their countrymen were drowned. The Japanese, in the course of their communication with Captain Rikord, had never even mentioned this affair; a circumstance which served to strengthen my suspicions. I asked Teske for what reason so considerable a number of soldiers had assembled in Chakodade, and what was intended by the numerous preparations we had observed. He replied that one of the Japanese laws required that measures of the strictest precaution should be adopted whenever they were visited by foreign vessels. "When Resanoff was at Nangasaky," said he, "a far greater number of soldiers were assembled and many more batteries erected; there are fewer troops here on account of the difficulty experienced in collecting them."—He besides smiled at my suspicions, and assured me that we had nothing to fear on the part of the Japanese.

On the 24th of September, the interpreters informed us that the *Diana* had arrived in Edomo. They shewed us a letter addressed by Captain Rikord to the officers in that town, which had been written in the Japanese language by an interpreter named Kisseleff, and the contents of which Teske explained to us. One of the Japanese sailors, whom Captain Rikord had conveyed home in the spring, had been sent to him as a pilot, and he requested in his letter that a more intelligent man—and, if possible, Tachatay-Kachi, on whom he could place reliance—might be put on board the *Diana*. Captain Ri-

kord moreover informed the Japanese that he stood in need of a supply of fresh water, and begged that his letters might be answered in the common and not in the high language, as the interpreter Kisseleff could read only the former.

Teske and Kunaddscherö told us that orders had been immediately issued for supplying the *Diana* not only with water, but provisions of every kind as far as they could be procured in Edomo. With regard to Captain Rikord's request, that his letters might be answered in the common language, they observed, that papers in that language could be signed only by inferior officers, and that, if the answers should contain any thing important, they would require the signatures of individuals of higher rank ; for, according to their laws, no person of distinction could sign official papers written in the vulgar tongue. Consequently his wish in this respect could not be complied with. As to his application for Tachatay-Kachi, he could not be sent on board the *Diana* as a pilot without the consent of the Bunyo, and some days must therefore elapse before the regular authorities for that purpose would be obtained. As, however, the Japanese authorities were well assured of the competency of the sailor who had been sent on board the *Diana*, Captain Rikord might safely rely on him until his ship came within sight of Chakodade, when Tachatay-Kachi should be immediately sent on board. For this purpose, regular signals were prepared,

which communicated from a hill to the boat in which Kachi was to sail to the *Diana*. The Japanese wished that I should clearly explain to Captain Rikord all these arrangements. I agreed to do so, and at the conclusion of my letter, observed that I wrote to him in compliance with the request of the Japanese, as they wished me to assure him that he had no reason to apprehend danger on entering Chakodade; but this I could not resolve to do, lest I should become the instrument of the ruin of my countrymen, if the Japanese entertained any treacherous design. When I remarked that the Japanese might, by proceeding with candour and sincerity, convince Captain Rikord that he had nothing to fear, the interpreters made no observation on that subject, but expressed themselves satisfied with what I had written.

On the following day the Gimmiyaku Sampey came to visit us; he merely repeated what we had already heard from the interpreters, and informed us that my letter had been forwarded to Captain Rikord.

On the night of the 27th of September a fire broke out in a magazine belonging to a merchant,\*

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\* During the spring two warehouses filled with goods, and in course of the summer a house, all belonging to the same merchant, were burnt down. There was every reason to suspect that they were wilfully set on fire, but the perpetrators of the crime could not be discovered. The interpreters informed us that occurrences of this kind were by no means unfrequent, although incendiaries are by the laws of Japan condemned to a most severe punishment. The



at no great distance from the house in which we lived. A great alarm was excited in the city, the cause of which our attendants immediately explained to us, and they began to make preparations in case our removal should have been found necessary. However, the interpreter and Sampey soon came to assure us that measures had been adopted to prevent the flames from communicating to our house. They then left us,\* and the fire was

offender on being conducted to the place of execution, which is usually without the walls of the city, is stript and tied to a stake, round which, at a short distance, piles of lighted wood are placed. The criminal is thus slowly burnt to death, and endures the most unspeakable torture. On the flames being extinguished, a tablet, on which are inscribed his name, and an account of the crime for which he suffered, is nailed to the stake, and his body is abandoned as a prey to the wild beasts and birds. Wilful setting fire to a building is, according to the laws of Japan, the crime next in enormity to parricide.

\* In cases of fire the Japanese, both officers and soldiers, wear a particular dress, which we had now an opportunity of seeing. It exactly resembles their military uniform; consisting of coats of mail, sleeve cases, &c. But the whole is composed of light varnished leather, so that this armour is not burthensome to the wearer, and cannot be injured by the sparks which issue from the fire. On the coat of mail the rank and office of the wearer are described. To extinguish a fire is regarded a most glorious achievement among the Japanese. When a fire breaks out in the capital, where there are numerous corps of troops, the commander who first proceeds to extinguish it, fixes his standard near the spot, and it is deemed exceedingly offensive if a other officer lends his assistance without being invited by him who has by his early arrival obtained possession of the ground. In former times, occurrences of this nature frequently gave rise to duels between the princes and grandees, and sometimes battles, in which their respective adherents engaged

extinguished in the course of a few hours, but the magazine in which it first broke out was reduced to ashes.

On the morning of the 27th of September the Bunyo arrived, and in the evening the *Diana* approached the harbour. In fulfilment of the promise made by the Japanese, Tachatay-Kachi was immediately sent on board, in company with the commander of the port,\* as the latter possessed a more intimate knowledge of the dangers of that part of the coast. Night having already set in, the *Diana* brought up in safe anchoring ground at the mouth of the harbour. This we learnt from the commander of the port, who returned on shore the same night.

Though the wind was unfavourable, the *Diana*, to the astonishment of the Japanese, came into the harbour on the following day. From the window of a little apartment, in which our bath stood, we saw her working in. The bay was covered with boats, and every elevated spot in the city was crowded with spectators, who were filled with amazement on seeing so large a vessel making progress on every tack against the wind. The Japanese who were allowed access to us, came every moment to express their wonder at the great num-

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Even now, serious contentions often arise when one officer shews an inclination to deprive another of the honour of having extinguished a fire,

\* An office which corresponds with that of our harbour master.

ber of the *Diana's* sails, and the rapidity with which she advanced.

A few hours after the *Diana* had cast anchor, Teske and Kumaddscherö, the Academician and the Dutch Interpreter, appeared with a large paper, which Tachatay-kachi had received from Captain Rikord, and had conveyed ashore. This paper, which was by the Bunyo's order brought to us for translation, was an answer from the commander of the Okotzk District to the demand of the two officers next in rank to the Bunyo. Mr. Minitzky clearly explained that the proceedings of Chwostoff were quite unauthorized by our government, that the Emperor of Russia had always been favourably disposed towards Japan, and that he had never entertained a design to injure the subjects of that empire. He accordingly advised the Japanese to prove, by our speedy liberation, their friendly disposition towards Russia, and their readiness to terminate differences which had arisen out of their own mistakes, and the reprehensible conduct of an obscure individual. He added, that every delay on their part must be attended with injurious consequences to the Japanese commerce and fisheries; as the inhabitants of the coasts would be severely harassed by the Russian vessels in case further visits to Japan on account of this affair should be necessary.

The Japanese expressed themselves highly pleased with the contents of this letter, and inti-

mated that the explanations it contained were sufficient to produce a thorough conviction that Chwostoff had acted without the sanction of the Russian Government ; they, therefore, congratulated us on our speedy liberation and return to our native country.

With regret I must now recur to a melancholy subject. From the day on which the *Diana* had first been discovered off the coast of Japan, Mr. Moor had appeared unusually melancholy and thoughtful. As he had no longer any hope of remaining in Japan, he resolved, if possible, to prevent the communications which were about to take place. He began by observing, that Mr. Minitzky's letter was rude and uncivil, and that it contained an insolent threat, by declaring that the Russian vessels would injure the trade of Japan and the people who inhabited its coasts. He assured the Japanese that these were merely empty words. The interpreters, with some degree of dissatisfaction, replied, that the Japanese were not fools, but were well aware of the mischief which might be effected by Russian ships on their coasts, in case of war, and that they, moreover, thought Mr. Minitzky's letter extremely reasonable. We were much consoled by this declaration, on a subject which was to us of such weighty importance ; but all our prayers and entreaties made no impression on Mr. Moor.

I must not omit mentioning another praiseworthy trait in the Japanese character, which oc-

curred at this time. Besides the official business to which Mr. Minitzky alluded in his letter, he addressed an intercession to the Bunyo in favour of Leonsaino, the Japanese who had been in Russia, and who, he was informed,\* had incurred the displeasure of the Government. The interpreters assured us that the Bunyo and all the officers were extremely pleased with the humane sympathy shewn by Mr. Minitzky for the misfortunes of a foreigner, and the benevolent anxiety he had manifested for the bettering of his condition. Now, said they, the Elders† in the capital will be convinced of their error, and will learn that the Russians are not bears and barbarians, but a humane and feeling people.

On the same day, the interpreters informed us that Captain Rikord was the bearer of a letter and several presents from the Civil Governor of Irkutsk to the Bunyo of Matsmai, and that he had expressed a wish to deliver them with his own hands.

A day was to be appointed for Captain Rikord's coming ashore, as it was stated that the Japanese officers did not dare to meet him in boats, in order to communicate with him.—This circumstance rendered some of my companions a little uneasy. What can the Japanese mean, said they,

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\* Captain Rikord had received this information from Tachatay Kachi.

† They alluded to those Members of the High Council who opposed all friendly intercourse between Russia and Japan.

by wishing that another of our commanders should come ashore, when they have already made one the victim of their treachery.

We looked forward with anxiety and fear for the 30th of September, the day on which it was determined that Captain Rikord should deliver the letter and the presents for the Bunyo.

When the day arrived, the Japanese brought us some wretchedly executed portraits of the Russian officers and sailors, which had been sketched as they came ashore. They observed, that the interpreter had a Japanese countenance, and that he must certainly be a native of Japan in a Russian dress. We, on our part, knew nothing respecting Kisseleff. When our interpreters explained to us Captain Rikord's letter from Edomo, which was written in Japanese by Kisseleff, they inquired who he was. We conjectured that he was a native of Irkutsk, and that he had learnt the language from the Japanese who lived there.

When the conference was at an end, the interpreters came to inform us, that we might, if we pleased, ascend to the second story of our house to see Captain Rikord depart. We saw the Governor's state boat\* sailing under three agst† from the shore to the *Diana*, but owing to the great dis-

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\* In size it rather resembled a galley than a boat.

† Three flags were the Japanese standard, the Russian war-flag and the white flag of peace.

tance we could not recognise the individuals on board of it.

We had no sooner returned to our apartments than the Japanese brought a letter which had been delivered by Captain Rikord, and of which they wished us to make a translation. This letter had been written by the Civil Governor of Irkutsk, on Captain Rikord's first report, and consequently before he could have been made acquainted with the contents of the Japanese paper, which was afterwards sent on board the *Diana*. The Governor began by representing the object of our voyage, and the treacherous conduct of the Japanese at Kunashier; he then declared that Chwostoff had acted without the sanction of the Russian Government, and entreated the Governor of Matsmai to grant us our immediate freedom, or to negotiate on that subject with Captain Rikord, his plenipotentiary. If, however, neither of these requests could be complied with, without the consent of the Japanese Government, he was requested to state when, and to what place the vessel should proceed to obtain an answer. He mentioned the presents, consisting of a gold watch and some red cassimir, which he sent to the Governor of Matsmai, as tokens of his neighbourly friendship. He, besides, stated that Captain Rikord was the bearer of a letter of thanks, which he was directed to deliver whenever our freedom might be granted. Finally, he expressed his hope of obtaining an answer

corresponding with his demand, on failure of which, he should be compelled reluctantly to conclude that Japan was hostilely disposed towards Russia, and must lay before his Emperor a declaration to that effect. His Imperial Majesty would then consider himself bound to employ a force corresponding with his power, and to obtain satisfaction by an appeal to arms, though by such measures the empire of Japan might be shaken to its very foundation.

This letter was accompanied by translations in the Mandschur and Japanese languages; the Japanese said, however, that they had no Mandschur interpreter, and that several passages in the Japanese translation were quite unintelligible. We were, therefore, obliged to make another translation of it, a task which kept us employed for more than two days.\* When the translation was finished, the interpreters carried it to the Bunyo; but in a short time brought it back, for the purpose of obtaining some explanations which were deemed necessary. They praised the general tenor of the letter, and expressed their dissatisfaction at two passages only. The Japanese were astonished the letter

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\* The Japanese were formerly accustomed to carry away even the copies of such Russian papers as were translated. However, the original letter from the Governor of Irkutsk, though more important than any paper sent by the Russians to the Japanese, was allowed to remain with us two days and a night. We regarded this as a favourable omen.



should speak of the faithless conduct practised towards us, and describe it as an arbitrary measure of the Commandant of Kunashier, unsanctioned by the Emperor of Japan, since they had, by their communications, avowed that we were taken prisoners by order of the Government.\* But their pride was chiefly wounded by the observation that Japan would be shaken to its foundation. They insisted on being made acquainted with the precise meaning of this sentence. I first wished to explain to them by examples what was meant by the employment of a force corresponding with a person's power. "Suppose," said I, "that I were to throw a feather at an individual with whom I was offended, I should not then use a force corresponding with my power, but if I threw a heavy stone with violence, I then should use a corresponding force. In the same manner, the two attacks made by Chwostoff in no way correspond with the power of Russia, and his two ships in comparison with our empire are not equal to a feather in my hand." In order to make them understand the phrase "shaken to its foundation," I shook Teske several times by the shoulders.

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\* At the commencement of our captivity the Japanese wished to attach all the blame of their treachery to the Governor of Kunashier. They, however, afterwards admitted that he, as well as all other commanders of maritime towns, had received orders to capture, either by stratagem or force, every Russian vessel that might approach their coasts.

At first the Japanese seemed offended at our entertaining so mean an opinion of the strength of their country, and asked, with haughtiness and ill-humour, how our Emperor could hope to shake Japan in that way. I replied, that the letter alluded to the people of Japan, and not the territory, and you must surely be convinced, said I, that if Russia chose to declare war against Japan, and to fit out a force, she might easily effect the destruction of your empire.

I was well aware, that the interpreters were merely the organs of the Bunyo and the superior officers, and that often, in the course of apparently undesigned conversation, their language was purposely so framed as to inform us of all we wished to know ; I, therefore, followed their example, and to set them at ease with regard to the threats which had so irritated them, observed, as it were accidentally, that the Governor of Irkutsk had written his letter before he knew any thing of the papers left behind by Chwostoff, the false declaration of the Kuriles, or the wish of the Japanese Government to correspond with Russia. I added, that though their unaccountable proceedings towards our ship, in the preceding year, would have induced any other state to declare war against them, yet the humanity of our Emperor would not permit him to resort to measures of violence, until he should receive a decisive letter of explanation.

The interpreters agreed with me in maintain-

ing that the former situation of affairs justified the Governor of Irkutsk in writing such a letter, though it was now unnecessary. I admitted the justice of this observation, and assured them, that the Governor would not have so expressed himself had he been convinced of the readiness of the Japanese to adjust all their past differences with Russia. They seemed fully satisfied with this answer.

I am sorry that I am, on this occasion, again obliged to speak of Mr. Moor's conduct. He declared, that the letter of the Governor of Irkutsk was couched in arrogant and insulting terms, and that the presents he had sent were almost too insignificant to be offered to the meanest officer. Fortunately, however, the Japanese had some time previously conveyed these presents on shore. The watch was shewn to us: it contained a curious piece of mechanism, which excited the astonishment of the Japanese, and they were totally unable to comprehend it. On touching a particular spring, a horse appeared drinking in an artificial stream of water, and occasionally raising and lowering his head. On seeing it, Mr. Moor, himself, confessed that the present was not so trifling as he had supposed. The Japanese declared, that they had never before heard of so wonderful a work of art.

When we had explained the Governor's letter, the interpreters proposed that I should write to Captain Rikord, and request that he would send ashore the letter of thanks which had been entrusted

to him. I, however, stated, that this could not possibly be done, as Captain Rikord had been directed not to deliver the letter until our liberation should take place. The interpreters acknowledged the justice of this objection, and said nothing more on the subject.

In the meanwhile Tachatay-Kachi, who had been sent to communicate personally with Captain Rikord, brought to his countrymen the intelligence of the French having taken Moscow, and burnt it to ashes ; and that they had afterwards precipitately retreated from Russia with a prodigious loss. This news greatly astonished us, and we felt very anxious to know every particular relating to these events. With the consent of the Japanese I wrote a note to Captain Rikord to request that he would send me all the newspapers that might happen to be on board the sloop. On the following day the interpreter brought to me the Military Gazette, and several letters from my friends and relations in Russia. I immediately declined breaking open any of the letters which were addressed to me, and requested Teske to enclose them in a packet, and send them back to the *Diana*. The interpreter praised my determination, and promised to make known my wish to the Bunyo. I was well aware that had I broken open these letters, I must immediately have made copies and translations of them, to be forwarded to

the capital. The interpreter soon after informed me, that the letters could not be sent back to the *Diana* until we were set at liberty ; but that they had sealed them up in a packet, which they would deliver to me, and which I might carry on board with me at my departure. I readily agreed to this proposal.

We perused the journals with the utmost impatience. They contained an account of all the events which had taken place from the enemy's invasion of Russia to the death of the Prince of Smolensko. The Japanese were almost as anxious as we to know by what means affairs had taken so surprising a turn in so short a period ; and they requested, that we would give them a translated narrative of the most remarkable events of the campaign. When we informed them, that the French had been obliged to fight their way out of Moscow, in which they were blocked up, and that almost their whole army had been destroyed in Russia, they clapped their hands, and declared that the Prince Smolensko had manœuvred in the true Japanese style ; for one of their principal maxims of war was to allure the enemy as much as possible into the interior of their country, and then to surround him on every side with powerful armies. We smiled at this comparison, and jokingly observed to each other, that the presumption of the Japanese might perhaps induce them

to believe that our immortal Kutosoff had studied tactics in the books of which Chwostoff had plundered them !

Tachatay-Kachi was permitted to visit us for the first time on the 3d of October. He came, accompanied by the interpreters, on his return from the *Diana*. This venerable old man was unable to express himself in the Russian language; but, with the assistance of the interpreters, he succeeded in making us understand him in Japanese. He spoke in terms of the highest praise and gratitude of Captain Rikord, the officers and crew of the *Diana*, and of all the Russians whom he had known in Kamtschatka. We asked him many questions concerning Russia, but he could not satisfy our curiosity, as he was ignorant of the subjects which most excited our interest. On taking leave of us, he requested that I would write to inform Captain Rikord that we had seen him. I readily agreed to do so, and he promised that he would himself forward the letter.

At length the interpreters received orders to inform us that the Bunyo considered the paper brought by Captain Rikord perfectly satisfactory, and that he had resolved to set us at liberty. Before my departure he, however, wished that I should hold a conference with Captain Rikord on shore, in order that, as I was acquainted with the Japanese laws, knew the strictness with which

they were enforced, and was in some measure familiar with the customs of the country, I might personally make the following communication to my friend. *First*, That though the Japanese did not cherish the least hatred towards the Russians, yet the Bunyo of Matsmai could not accept of the presents which had been sent to him. If he accepted them, he would be bound to make some recompence for them ; but intercourse of that kind was wholly prohibited by the laws of Japan. The Japanese, therefore, hoped that we would not take offence at the presents being returned. *Secondly*, That the letter from the commandant of the circle of Okotzk was a satisfactory answer to the demand for explanation transmitted that year by Captain Rikord, therefore the said letter would be the only paper mentioned in the written declaration which the Bunyo intended should be delivered to Capt. Rikord. *Thirdly*, That as affairs, doubtless, stood in the state in which it was represented in the letter of the commandant of Okotzk, the Bunyo of Matsmai could not answer the Governor of Irkutzk, as the latter was ignorant of many circumstances relative to Chwostoff, and had not been apprized of the intention of the Japanese Government to correspond with Russia on that subject. *Fourthly*, The Japanese requested that Mr. Rikord would address a letter to the two officers next in command to the Bunyo,

to assure them that the Governor of Irkutsk knew nothing of the documents left behind by Chwostoff, the false statements of the Kuriles, nor the intentions of the Japanese Government at the time he wrote his letter. *Fifthly, and lastly,* That Captain Rikord should pledge himself to a perfect understanding of the Russian translation of the declaration to be delivered in the name of the Bunyo of Matsmai, and promise to lay it before our Government on his return; and, to enable him to give this pledge, I was to be furnished with a copy of the declaration, which I was to shew to him on our conference.

The 5th of October was the day appointed for my interview with Captain Rikord. The Japanese proposed that Mr. Moor should be present; but this, to their astonishment, he declined, Mr. Chlebnikoff wished to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing his countrymen and companions, but the Japanese were of opinion, that considering Mr. Moor's disordered state of mind, it would not be prudent to leave him alone.

On the morning of the 5th one of the interpreters brought my hat, and the other my sword, which they presented to me with demonstrations of great respect, whilst they, at the same time, sincerely congratulated me. In compliance with the wish of the Japanese, I dressed myself in a rich silken jacket and loose trowsers, which had been



made in Chakodade for the occasion.\* The sword and cocked hat was calculated to add to the singularity of this dress in the eyes of Europeans; but this was an object of indifference to the Japanese.

As, however, the restoration of our swords indicated that the Japanese no longer looked upon us as prisoners, I readily acceded to their wishes, and resolved to appear before my companions in a dress in which, had they not been prepared for the meeting, they might have found it difficult to recognise me. In addition, my hair was far from being cut in the Russian style, and had I not recently shaved my long beard, my appearance would have been altogether extremely ludicrous.

The place fixed upon for my interview with Captain Rikord was an apartment in the custom-house, which was situated near the shore. The

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\* When the Japanese first expressed their intention of making this sort of state-dress for us, they brought for our inspection several pieces of rich silk-stuff, resembling damask. The pieces were of different colours, and each lay in a separate box. They desired that we should each select the colour we liked best, but we insisted on leaving the choice to them, and declared that we were quite indifferent as to the colour of our clothes. They, however, insisted, that we should choose for ourselves, since they had received orders to that effect from the capital. I pointed to the box which happened to stand nearest to me, and my companions did the same. The Japanese then opened the rest of the boxes, shewed us every piece of cloth, and observed, that they had received orders from the Government to make our clothes of the best materials, which were only to be procured in Matsmai.

three interpreters, the academician, and a few of the inferior officers, were ordered to be present as witnesses. At midday I was conducted to the custom-house, round which a number of troops were drawn up in parade.\* I proceeded along with the interpreters to the conference-chamber. The Japanese, according to custom, seated themselves on the floor, but a seat was handed to me. Captain Rikord soon arrived in the Governor's barge, accompanied by Mr. Saweljeff, one of his officers, the interpreter Kisseleff, and a few sailors. The latter were stationed in an open place in front of the house, and Captain Rikord, Saweljeff, and Kisseleff entered the apartment in which I was waiting to receive them.—I leave the reader to imagine the transport of our meeting!

A seat was immediately placed for Captain Rikord, and the interpreters having intimated that we might converse together as long as we pleased, they stepped aside and paid no attention to what we said. The joy, astonishment, and curiosity with which our questions and answers succeeded each other, may easily be conceived. Captain Rikord

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\* On festival days, or on the unusual occurrence of receiving foreigners, the Japanese soldiers wear silk, or velvet dresses embroidered with gold and silver, which are like their common gowns with full sleeves, only somewhat shorter. These state-dresses are the property of the Government: they are kept in imperial magazines, and only delivered to the soldiers on the occasions above-mentioned. They constitute no particular uniform, but are all made of different materials, and variously embroidered.

wished to know all that had occurred to us during our imprisonment; and I, in my turn, inquired after the affairs of Russia, and thus we proceeded from one subject to another. At length I explained the object of our interview, and the wish of the Japanese; and he acquainted me with the instructions he had received from the Civil-Governor of Irkutsk, respecting a determination of boundaries, and a treaty of friendship between the two empires. On taking into consideration the whole business, it appeared to us that the propositions of the Japanese were reasonable and that, consequently, we ought to comply with them; but that, for the following reasons, it would not be advisable, at that time, to negotiate for the fixing of boundaries and an alliance. From the documents which we had translated we knew the conditions on which the Japanese Government had authorized the Bunyo to liberate us, and, likewise, what declaration he had to communicate; consequently, he could have returned no answer to any new proposal, on our part, without receiving instructions from the capital. The vessel must, besides, have wintered in Chakodade; and this would have been placing ourselves completely in the power of the Japanese; for though the harbour seldom freezes, yet the winter is severe and of long duration. The crew on board the *Diana* would also have been exposed to considerable danger, and the vessel might even have been rendered unfit to perform the voyage

home ; for the violent storms which occur during winter, on the coast of Japan, might have parted her from her anchors, and driven her ashore. To have requested permission for the seamen to disembark and live on shore, and to have the ship unrigged in a safe place, would have been to subject ourselves to the same conditions which Resanoff and his suite had submitted to at Nangasaky, namely, to resign the vessel entirely to the Japanese—and this at a time when we ought to have asserted our claim to three islands, which, in our opinion, they had unjustly occupied.

Besides it had, at various times, been intimated to me by the interpreters, (who always spoke the sentiments of the Bunyo,) that notwithstanding the unfavourable answer of the Japanese Government, they did not entirely despair of seeing a friendly alliance established between Russia and Japan, but that to accomplish it would require prudent management on our part. The interpreters suggested one method to us, but I shall pass it over, in order that I may not farther interrupt the thread of my Narrative.

When every thing was arranged between Captain Rikord and me, the Japanese produced the translated declaration of the Bunyo of Matsmai. Captain Rikord, in return, delivered in the document required by the Japanese, which Teske translated, shewed to the officers present, and then informed us that they were perfectly satisfied with it.

The Japanese did not evince the least sign of impatience at the length of this interview, and at the end of our conference, presented us with tea and sweetmeats. At length Captain Rikord departed. I accompanied him to the boat in which he embarked to go on board the *Diana*, and then returned to our house.

My companions awaited my return with the utmost anxiety. I acquainted them with all I had heard from Mr. Rikord respecting the political affairs of Europe, the entrance of the French into Russia, and every particular relative to our families and friends. Two circumstances, however, I was under the necessity of concealing; namely, that Tachatay-Kachi had communicated to the Japanese the instructions given to Mr. Rikord respecting the settling of the boundaries, and that the interpreter Kisseleff was a Japanese by birth. These facts I did not chuse to disclose, in order to avoid giving uneasiness to my distrustful fellow prisoners, who to the last moment doubted the sincerity of the Japanese.

It will appear from Captain Rikord's account of his expedition to Matsmai how much we were indebted to him, and to his excellency the civil governor of Irkutsk. I must also with a feeling of gratitude mention that Captain Rikord's bold decision to land\* and hold a conference in the town,

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\* We had no reason for supposing that the Japanese would act as treacherously towards Captain Rikord as they had done to us.

contributed not a little to the favourable conclusion of the negociation ; for the interpreters had previously assured us, that if Captain Rikord did not come on shore great difficulties would arise, the end of which could not be foreseen.

On the 6th of October, in the morning, the interpreters delivered to Messrs. Chlebnikoff and Moor their sabres and hats in the most respectful manner, and stated that we were on that day to be presented to the Bunyo, who would in person notify our liberation. He advised us to put on our best clothes, and to wear our swords when we appeared before the Bunyo.—To this proposal we gladly assented. At noon we were conducted to the house of the governor of the town where the Bunyo re-

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Indeed, the formal declaration of the Bunyo, that he was authorized to grant us our liberty on receiving a satisfactory answer; our new residence; and the good treatment we experienced—all tended to convince us of the contrary. But of this Mr. Rikord was entirely ignorant, as Simanoff had informed him that we were all confined in one place and treated without any distinction. I had moreover, in my letter to Mr. Rikord, requested that he would incur no danger, and advised him to communicate with the Japanese only in boats, at the distance of a gun-shot from the batteries. His decisive resolution, therefore, to come on shore in a Japanese boat did not arise from a conviction of there being no danger, but from his courage and generous determination to risk every thing for our deliverance; besides, as he was the bearer of official papers from the Commandant of the frontier Russian Government to the Bunyo of Matsmai, his sense of duty was too great to allow him to think of his own safety. In case of a new act of treachery, the *Diana* would have conveyed information back to Russia, and the Japanese would certainly have received a just chastisement for violating the most sacred law of nations, since they were bound to respect the person of Captain Rikord as that of an ambassador.

sided. We three officers were shewn into a very neat apartment, and the sailors and Alexei were desired to remain in another. In a few hours Mr. Chlebnikoff, Mr. Moor, and I were requested to enter a spacious hall, in which the officers, the academicians, and the interpreters were assembled. They were more than twenty in number, and were seated in rows on each side of the hall. The Bunyo soon entered with his retinue and took his seat. The officers made their obedience to him, we bowed in the European way and he returned our salutation :—all the old ceremonies were repeated, except that the sword-bearer, instead of laying the sword by the side of the Bunyo as formerly, held it perpendicularly in both hands, with the hilt upwards. The Bunyo then drew a large sheet of paper from his bosom and holding it up said : “ This contains the orders of the Government ! ”—The interpreters immediately translated these words ; while the officers however sat with their eyes cast down, as if they had been deprived of all animation. The Bunyo then unfolded the paper and read its contents aloud. It was the document, a copy of which has already been given, stating that Chwostoff's misconduct had been the occasion of our imprisonment ; but that, as the Bunyo was convinced that the said Chwostoff had acted without the sanction of the Russian Government, he was authorized to grant us our liberty, and that we should embark on the following day.

The interpreters having translated this paper,

and assured the Bunyo that we understood it, one of the senior officers was dispatched in company with Kumaddscherö to communicate its contents to the sailors. In the meanwhile, the Bunyo produced another paper which he likewise read aloud, and afterwards desired Teske to translate and to hand it to me. It was a congratulation from the Bunyo to the following effect:—

“ You have now lived three years in a Japanese  
“ frontier town, and in a foreign climate, but you  
“ are now about to return to your native country.  
“ This affords me great pleasure. You, Captain  
“ Golownin, as the chief of your companions, must  
“ have endured most anxiety of mind, and I sin-  
“ cerely rejoice that you have attained your happy  
“ object. You have, in some measure, become  
“ acquainted with the laws of our country, which  
“ prohibit us from maintaining any commerce with  
“ the people of foreign nations, and require that  
“ we should drive all foreign vessels from our  
“ coasts : explain this to your countrymen on your  
“ return home. It has been our wish whilst you  
“ remained in Japan to treat you with all possible  
“ kindness ; but before you became acquainted  
“ with our customs, our behaviour may have ap-  
“ peared to you the very opposite of what we in-  
“ tended. Each nation has its peculiar customs,  
“ but good conduct will every where be esteemed  
“ as such. On your return to Russia, inform your



“ countrymen of this likewise. I wish you all a  
“ safe voyage.”

We thanked the Bunyo for his condescension. Having listened to our acknowledgements, he withdrew, and we were requested to return to our house.

Throughout the whole of these proceedings, not the slightest indication of joy was observable on Mr. Moor's countenance; he merely repeated, that he was unworthy of the acts of kindness which the Japanese conferred upon him.

On our return home a number of officers, soldiers and other individuals, came to wish us joy. The three officers next in rank to the Bunyo also presented to me a written congratulation, which they requested I would preserve, as a memorial of our friendship. The following is a translation of this paper :—

“ From the Ginmiyaks.

“ You have all lived for a long period in Japan,  
“ but you are now to return to your native country  
“ by order of the Bunyo. The period of your de-  
“ parture is fast approaching. During your long  
“ residence here such an intimacy has arisen be-  
“ tween us, that we cannot help regretting the ne-  
“ cessity of our separation. The distance between  
“ the Island of Matsmai and our eastern capital is  
“ very considerable, and in this frontier town there  
“ are many deficiencies. You have, however, been

“ accustomed to heat, cold and other variations of  
“ weather, and are now prepared for your happy  
“ voyage home. Your own joy must be extreme ;  
“ we, on our part, rejoice at the happy issue of the  
“ affair. May God protect you on your voyage,  
“ for that we pray to him. We write this as a fare-  
“ well letter.”

The joy of the Japanese was, indeed, unfeigned. We understood from the interpreters, that in consequence of an application from the High Priest of the city, the Bunyo had issued orders that prayers for our safe voyage should be offered up in all the temples for the space of five days.

On the 6th of October, one of the officers, accompanied by Kumaddscheru, was sent on board the *Diana*, to inform Captain Rikord that the orders for our liberation had been officially announced by the Bunyo. At their request, I wrote a letter to this effect to Mr. Rikord. In the evening, by the Governor's order, a supper was laid out for us in the upper apartment of our house. This supper consisted of ten different dishes, containing fish, game, ducks and geese, cooked in various ways. After supper, some of the best Japanese *sagi* was served out to us. Several boxes, containing lacquered vessels, were afterwards brought in, as presents from the interpreters, in return for the books which, with the consent of the Government, they had received from us ; but they had been ordered

to accept of nothing more.\* We were, however, very well assured that these presents were sent to us at the expense of the Government.

On the following day, the 7th of October, we put on our best clothes. The servants and guards packed up our other clothes in boxes, without omitting the least trifle, and placed them in the portico of the house. At midday we were conducted to the shore. Our clothes, the presents we had received, and the provisions for our voyage,† were carried behind us by a number of attendants. On reaching the harbour, we entered a building near the custom-house, where Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff, and I were shewn into one apartment, and the sailors into another. We had been only

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\* The Japanese kept a list of all the things we possessed. A few days before our departure they looked them over, and missed a pair of stockings, which we had cut in pieces for the purpose of distributing among the guards. They immediately inquired what had become of them. We replied, that we had given the pieces as presents to the soldiers, but declined naming the individuals who had received them. But the interpreters insisted on knowing the names of the men, stating, that as the care of our property had been entrusted solely to them, they would be called to account in case of any thing being left behind. They assured us that no punishment would await the guards. We, on the other hand, represented that there was no difference between our property and other European articles, and that the Government could not possibly ascertain that the things had not been brought to Japan by the Dutch. Here the matter rested.

† These provisions consisted of fifty bags of rice, a few casks of sagi, a quantity of salted and fresh fish, radishes, &c.

a few moments in this place, when Captain Rikord came ashore, accompanied by Mr. Saweljeff, the interpreter, Kisseleff, and some other individuals. He, and his two companions, were conducted to the same apartment in which, a few days before, my interview with him had taken place, and which Mr. Chlebnikoff, Mr. Moor and I, were immediately requested to enter. Sampey and Chiogoro were among the officers whom we found assembled ; they sat together on the place which had formerly been occupied by the Bunyo. The former desired one of the inferior officers to present to Captain Rikord a salver, on which was a box, containing the declaration of the Bunyo of Matsmai, folded up in silken cloth. The officer, with much ceremony and respect, advanced towards Captain Rikord, who, at the request of the Japanese, read the translation of the document from beginning to end. The next ceremony was the delivery to me of the paper, entitled " a NOTIFICATION from the two officers next in rank to the Governor of Matsmai." It was enclosed in a box and wrapt in silk, but it was not presented on a salver, nor by the same officer who had handed the other document to Captain Rikord. Though I knew perfectly well the contents of the paper, for the sake of formality, I was requested to read it. The presents sent by the Governor of Irkutsk were then returned to us, and we received a list of the provisions which had been provided for our voyage. The Japanese hav-

ing wished us a happy voyage to Russia, took leave of us, and withdrew.

When every thing was in readiness for our departure, we were conducted to the Bunyo's barge, on board of which we embarked, accompanied by Tachatay-Kachi; our clothes, provisions, and the presents being placed in separate boats. On our way from the custom-house to the boats all the Japanese, not only those with whom we were acquainted, but the strangers who were looking on, bade us adieu, and wished us a safe voyage.

The officers and seamen on board the *Diana* received us with a degree of joy, or rather enthusiasm, which can only be felt by brothers or intimate friends after a long absence, and a series of similar adventures. With regard to ourselves, I can only say, that—after an imprisonment of two years, two months, and twenty-six days, on finding ourselves again in an imperial Russian ship, surrounded by our countrymen, with whom we had, for five or six years, served in remote, dangerous, and laborious voyages—we felt what men are capable of feeling, but which cannot be described.

## CHAPTER VI.

ACCORDING to the title of this book, my Narrative should conclude with the preceding chapter ; but the events which are here related, are so closely interwoven with those which occurred during my captivity in Japan, that I feel confident the reader will not regard the addition as superfluous.

On our reaching the *Diana*, the Governor's boat immediately put back, by Captain Rikord's orders, with a Japanese, who, on account of illness, had been left behind at Okotzk.\* Mr. Rikord wished to have landed him at Edomo, but there, as well as at Chakodade, the Japanese officers would not suffer him to go ashore, and they now, for the first time, consented to receive him.

In the afternoon, we were visited by our interpreters, the academician, and several officers, whose rank was three or four degrees beneath that of the

\* This man was one of the individuals who, in the year 1811, suffered shipwreck on the coast of Kamtschatka. One of his legs had been so severely frozen, that, notwithstanding every remedy applied by our physician, it was found necessary to amputate it, and he walked with a wooden leg. At this the Japanese were greatly astonished; for, though the Dutch have made some of their surgeons acquainted with the art of amputating, yet very few are sufficiently skilful to attempt the operation.

Bunyo. Teske and Kumaddscherö brought presents for Captain Rikord and me, consisting of silk, Japanese tea, and their best sagi and sweet-meats; in return for which, we entertained our guests with tea, sweet brandy and cordials. They drank so copiously that they soon became extremely cheerful and talkative. Captain Rikord delivered to the interpreters the letter of thanks from the Governor of Irkutsk, and as there was a copy at hand they immediately, with our assistance, translated it into their own language. The Japanese now expressed a wish to see the signature of the Emperor of Russia. Among my papers, on board the vessel, I happened to have an Imperial Rescript, which I had received on being invested with the Order of St. Wladimir. I immediately laid the paper on the table, and pointed to the signature of the Emperor, upon which the Japanese all bowed their heads towards the table, and in that position remained for several minutes. They then inspected the signature with demonstrations of the highest respect, and having kept their eyes fixed upon it for some time, they again repeated the ceremony of bowing their heads to the table.

When our friends, the Japanese, were preparing to take their leave, we gave to each a present of more or less value, according to the degree of friendship which subsisted between us. They endeavoured to accept them unobserved by each other, and concealed whatever we gave them in

their loose sleeves, which occasionally answer the purpose of pockets. If we offered them any thing of a large size, they declined accepting it; but they received books, maps, and copper-plate prints, without the least reserve. We gave them an atlas of *Captain Krusentern*, several maps from the atlas of *La Perouse*, some books and various other charts. The prints they accepted of, but returned the frames and glasses. Mr. Rikord gave them engraved portraits of *Count Kamensky*, the *Prince Bagration*, and a drawing of *Prince Kutusoff*, beautifully executed in crayons, by a son of the Governor of *Irkutsk*. When we related to the Japanese the achievements of *Prince Kutusoff*, they received his portrait, with enthusiasm and gratitude; we could not, however, prevail upon them to take the frame and glass, though we represented to them that the former was merely a piece of gilt wood, of little or no value. We observed that the portrait of *Kutusoff* might be injured without a glass; but they replied, that they would adopt measures for preserving the gem when they went ashore.

Whilst the Japanese officers were entertained in the cabin, the deck of the *Diana* was covered with visitors. Soldiers, and even females, had come on board to see the interior of the ship, and when the officers departed, they all descended into the cabin. We readily granted them the satisfaction of viewing the curiosities and ornaments of the cabin, which Captain Rikord had fitted up in a



very tasteful style. As tokens of remembrance, Captain Rikord gave to each of the Japanese a piece of fine red cloth for making a tobacco-bag, and two pieces of cut glass belonging to a chandelier. They regarded the latter as great curiosities. To the children we gave pieces of sugar; but these little presents were immediately taken possession of by their parents, and carefully wrapped up in pieces of cloth. Our guests remained with us till evening, when, for the first time, we enjoyed tranquillity, and an opportunity of conversing together respecting our native country, and the adventures which we had encountered.

On the following day, the 8th of October, we opened, out of curiosity, a box which had been sent on board in one of the boats; to our great astonishment this box contained every article belonging to us, such as clothes, linen, money, &c. in short every thing down to the last piece of rag. On every article was marked the name of the individual to whom it belonged. Among the things which Captain Rikord sent on shore at Kunashier was a razor-case, containing a looking-glass, an article, the manufacture of which is totally unknown to the Japanese. On its removal from Kunashier to Chakodade the looking-glass had accidentally been broken, and we now found the pieces collected in a box, with a note, apologizing for the accident, which, it was observed, had

arisen in consequence of the Japanese not knowing how to convey so brittle an article. \*

Tachatay-Kachi was this day our first visitor. He informed us that our request to have a formal audience of the Bunyo † for the purpose of thanking him in person, was not approved by the Japanese officers. He, therefore, advised us to set sail without delay; adding, that the ship would be furnished with a supply of water. Several boats soon after came alongside for our water-casks, which were speedily filled, and sent on board.

On the following day, every thing was in readiness for our departure, but the wind proved unfavourable. On the 10th of October we unmoored, and proceeded to work out of the bay. Teske, Kumaddschero, and Tachatay-Kachi, accompanied us in boats destined to give us assistance, if necessary. The shore was crowded with spectators to witness our departure. When we had completely left the harbour, our Japanese friends warmly repeated their wishes for our safe return home, and took their last farewell. With considerable difficulty we prevailed on them

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\* The Japanese have no looking-glasses. Their metal mirrors are, however, so exquisitely polished that they are scarcely inferior to ours of the finest glass.

† Captain Rikord had never seen the Bunyo, though the latter saw him during our conference on the shore, where he sat incognito behind a screen, in the custom house.

to accept a few presents : they assured us that we had already given them more than enough. As they left the ship, our repeated adieus were accompanied by ardent wishes that a friendly alliance might speedily be established between Russia and Japan. We separated with reciprocal cheers, and the Japanese continued their salutes as long as we remained within sight of each other ; but our sails were soon filled by a brisk and favourable breeze, and the *Diana* rapidly removed us from a land in which we had endured much suffering, but had also experienced the generosity of a pacific people, whom some Europeans, perhaps less civilized, regard as barbarians.

And here I must take the liberty of offering a remark on the opinion of those who attribute our liberation and the ultimate good conduct of the Japanese to the cowardice of that people, and their dread of the vengeance of Russia ; for my own part, I am persuaded that, generally speaking, they acted from feelings of humanity, not merely because I am always inclined to regard good effects as springing from good causes, but because I can support my assertion by proof. Had fear ~~operated~~ on the minds of the Japanese, they would, at an earlier period, have come to a reconciliation with us. But, on the contrary, they had determined to resort to force, and had ordered Captain Rikord to be informed that we were dead at a time when they were using every precaution for the

preservation of our health. Fear might, indeed, be supposed to have had some effect upon them, were the eastern provinces of Russia in a state corresponding with those of the west. But the Japanese were well aware of the very important difference between the two divisions of our empire. In my narrative, however, the motives and the proceedings of both parties are presented to the consideration of the reader, who is thus afforded an opportunity of forming a judgment for himself.

The only circumstance worthy of observation, which occurred during our voyage from Chakodade to the harbour of Petropaulowska, was a storm of extraordinary violence which we encountered one night off the eastern coast of the island of Matsmai. It even exceeded in fury and danger the most dreadful tempest I ever experienced, either in the autumn off Cape Horn, or during the winter in my voyage from the Cape of Good Hope to New Holland. It would be superfluous to particularize all the precautions which we found it necessary to adopt, in order to save the ship, for they included all that may be found minutely described in any book of voyages to which the reader may resort for an account of a storm.

We cast anchor in Awatscha Bay on the 3d of November ; though, at that season scarcely habitable, Kamtschatka, with its snow-topt mountains, volcanos and impenetrable forests, seemed a para-

dise, for it was a portion of our dear native land. The individuals who first came to meet us were Lieutenant Jakuschkin, who had served with me on board the *Diana*, and Lieutenant Volkoff of the garrison artillery. On beholding me they were as much astonished as though I had risen from the dead. Lieutenants Narmanskoy and Poduschkin next came on board. In company with these officers I went on shore at Petropaulowska at ten in the evening.

I turn once more to my unhappy companion Mr. Moor, whose severe repentance had extinguished all recollection of his errors. The sad fate of that officer cannot fail to excite sympathy in every feeling heart, whilst at the same time, it will serve as a dreadful example of the consequences of similar misconduct.

When we embarked on board the *Diana*, at Chakodade, the officers eagerly thronged round us: Mr. Moor, however, stood motionless, and apparently insensible to all that was passing. We all resolved among ourselves never, in his presence, to converse on the affairs of Japan, or to mention any circumstance which might remind him of his former conduct. We made every possible endeavour to amuse his mind by discoursing on subjects relative to Russia, but all was in vain. He dressed himself in a way unbecoming his rank, and seldom spoke, even to the sailors, among whom he was principally to be found. When we remonstrated

with him on this mode of proceeding, he usually replied:—"I am unworthy to associate with gentlemen, it is even too much if the sailors condescend to keep company with me."—Even when we prevailed on him to come into the cabin, he remained buried in thought. For some days after we left Chakodade, he joined the rest of the officers at dinner, supper, and tea, but this he soon discontinued, and confined himself entirely to his own cabin. Sometimes, after fasting for the space of three days, he would devour food in great quantities with the utmost voracity. It appeared as if he wished by this irregular mode of living to bring on himself some fatal disorder—such was his behaviour until we arrived at Kamtschatka.

Lieutenant Rudakoff, Mr. Moor's old shipmate and friend, was now Commandant of the harbour of Petropaulowska. He had a short time before married a beautiful and accomplished young lady,\* and resided in a spacious house. We thought that if they could be prevailed on to receive Mr. Moor into their house that the society of a sensible and sprightly woman might have the effect of removing the despondency under which he laboured. We accordingly made the proposal to Mr. Rudakoff, and he readily acceded to it. But our hopes were quickly disappointed, for no difference whatever

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\* The niece of Major-General Petrowsky, formerly the Commandant of Kamtschatka.

was produced on Mr. Moor. He frequently withdrew to some retired place where he wept aloud and deprecated his unhappy fate. On one occasion he so greatly alarmed Madame Rudakoff, that she considered him a madman with whom it was unsafe to live under the same roof. We then removed him to the house of a priest with whom he had resided before our captivity.—Religion and spiritual discourse might indeed have had a beneficial effect upon Mr. Moor's mind, had the priest been possessed of any conversational talent: but, unfortunately, such was not the case with Father Alexander. He could celebrate Mass and repeat the Litany without blundering, but his dissertations on heaven and religion were not calculated to produce any deep impression on the mind of our unhappy friend.

After we were made prisoners in Kunashier, Mr. Moor's effects had been sold by auction and he was now entitled to the sum of 8000 rubles. We advised him to provide himself with new clothes and various other articles, but he replied that he neither wanted money or any thing else. His dress consisted of an old Kamtschatdale parki, made of rein-deer skin. He at length said that his conscience obliged him to address a report to me, in which he styled himself a traitor and an outcast, and declared that he felt himself called upon by all that he regarded as sacred to make this confession. This report was so unconnected and contained so

many extravagant expressions, that not a doubt could longer remain of Mr. Moor having lost his senses. I immediately wrote a letter of consolation to my unhappy companion, to assure him that his error was not so enormous as he himself accounted it; that we all wished to forget what was passed, and that, as he was young, he would have many opportunities of making amends for a fault into which he had been driven by despair; I added, that his future good conduct would not fail to remove all the remorse which agitated his mind. I requested that Lieutenant Rudakoff would be the bearer of this letter, and that he would use every endeavour to tranquillize his distressed friend. I afterwards visited him myself, accompanied by Captain Rikord, on which occasion we, in some measure, succeeded in cheering his spirits. He discoursed reasonably, thanked me for my letter, and observed that he was unworthy of so much kindness. He afterwards occasionally conversed with our officers, and devoted a portion of his money to the purchase of clothes. In the course of a few days he expressed a wish to take up his abode in a Kamtschatdale village, where he observed he could live more at his ease, as the sight of the Russians whom he daily met with in Petropaulowska constantly reminded him of his misconduct. It seemed advisable that, in this particular, he should follow his own inclination, and we hoped that time would heal the wounds which, in his present situation, every circumstance tended



to widen. Mr. Moor having obtained permission to remove, he began to make preparations for his departure, and purchased every thing which he thought would be necessary for his country life. The individuals whom, for his safety, it had been judged necessary to appoint as his guards, were as overjoyed as we, as they concluded that their duty watching would, in a certain degree, be diminished.

Mr. Moor was exceedingly fond of shooting, and when he went abroad to enjoy that diversion, one of the guards was directed to carry his musket, and to hand it to him when he wished to fire, but never to leave him for a moment. One day, as he was out shooting on the shore of Awatscha-Bay, he desired the soldier, who accompanied him, to return home to dinner. "You need not fear," said he, laughingly, "for if I wished to put an end to my life, I could do so at home with a knife or a sword." The soldier obeyed. As, however, Mr. Moor did not return at his usual time, the man went in search of him, and with horror beheld his bloody and lifeless corpse on the shore of the Bay. His clothes were hanging on a post, and the musket lay by his side with a stick on the cock. He had apparently fired it with his foot. His body was opened, and in the breast were found two pieces of lead, with which, instead of balls, he had loaded the musket. He had left on a table in his apartment, a paper containing the following

singular expression :—" That life had become insupportable to him, and that, at certain times, he could even fancy he had swallowed the sun."—It cannot be doubted that he was occasionally subject to fits of insanity, and that the fatal act was committed in one of these paroxysms.

This unfortunate officer terminated his life on the 22d of November, 1813, in the thirtieth year of his age. At our own expence we erected a monument over his grave, on which were inscribed the following lines :—

HERE REST THE ASHES OF  
LIEUTENANT FEODOR MOOR,

WHO TERMINATED HIS CAREER IN THE HARBOUR OF PETROPOLSKA,  
ON THE 22D. OF NOVEMBER, 1813,

IN THE FLOWER OF HIS AGE.

IN JAPAN

HE WAS ABANDONED BY THE PROTECTING-SPIRIT, WHICH HAD  
HITHERTO BEEN HIS GUIDE.

DESPAIR

PRECIPITATED HIM INTO ERROR;

BUT HIS FAULTS WERE EXPIATED BY BITTER REPENTANCE AND  
DEATH.

FROM THE FEELING HEART

HIS FATE CLAIMS

A TEAR!

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TO HIS MEMORY

THE OFFICERS OF THE *DIANA* DEDICATE  
THIS MONUMENT.

Mr. Moor was an officer of great merit and accomplishments. In addition to the knowledge requisite for his profession, he was conversant with several languages, and was an admirable draftsman. He loved the service to which he had devoted his life, and was zealous and indefatigable in the discharge of his duty. In company he was extremely entertaining. I had served on board the same ship with him for five years previous to the unfortunate catastrophe which befel us at Kunashier. Had not fate rendered me an eye witness of his faults, I never could have believed him capable of such a change as his conduct in Japan exhibited.

On the 2d of December Captain Rikord and I departed from Petropaulowska, drawn by dogs. The new year, 1814, commenced whilst we were in that extensive and uninhabitable steep, called the Parapolsk Valley, which comprehends a space of three hundred wersts, and where travellers so frequently fall victims to storms and drifts of snow. After surmounting many dangers we entered the town Inshiginsk, in the middle of February, where the public service required that we should part, and Captain Rikord, without hesitation, undertook the task of retracing his journey. I continued my progress, and reached Okotzk on the 11th of March, having travelled with dogs a distance of more than 3000 wersts. On quitting Okotzk, I first travelled with dogs, and afterwards with rein-deer or horses, and when at a distance of

200 wersts from Irkutzk I proceeded in post-kibitkes. I arrived at Irkutzk, by the winter-road, at the latter end of April. In the middle of May I left Irkutzk and reached St. Petersburg on the 22d of July.\* Soon after my arrival, I learned that his Imperial Majesty had promoted me to the rank of Captain of the second guard. I felt this unexpected favour the more, as I had, about three years before, been invested with the order of St. Wladimir, on account of my successful voyage from Cronstadt to Kamtschatka, and the attention I had devoted to the health of the crew placed under my command.

His Imperial Majesty afterwards rewarded the officers of the *Diana* in the following manner: to me and Captain Rikord (who had likewise been appointed a Captain of the second rank) he granted an annual pension of 1500 rubles each, and gave orders that our narratives should be printed at the expence of the government. Lieutenants Jakuschkin and Filatoff were each invested with the Order of St. Wladimir of the fourth class. Mr. Chlebnikoff, who was a pilot of the ninth class, Messrs. Nowitzky and Sredney, pilots of the twelfth class, and Mr. Popyrin, the master at arms, received pensions to the amount of their full yearly pay; to Mr. Saweljeff, the clerk of the fourteenth class, was granted a pension; to the commissary's assistant,

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\* I left St. Petersburg on the 22d of July, 1807, and by a singular accident, after an absence of seven years, I arrived in that city on the same day of the month, and at the same hour.

Natschpinsky, the rank of the twelfth class ; to the master's mate, Labutin, the rank of the fourteenth class ; to the inferior officers, pensions amounting to a full year's pay ; and to the inferior officers, who had been drafted from Okotzk, a gratuity of one year's pay. The sailors, who had been prisoners in Japan, received permission to retire from the service, and were allowed annual pensions amounting to their full yearly pay. The Kurile, Alexei, as a reward for his good conduct, was presented with a hanger, and received, instead of a pension, twenty pounds of powder, and forty pounds of shot.

#### CONCLUSION OF CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN'S NARRATIVE.

**ACCOUNT OF VOYAGES,**  
**IN THE**  
**YEARS 1812 AND 1813,**  
***TO THE COASTS OF JAPAN;***  
•  
**AND OF**  
**NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE JAPANESE,**  
**FOR THE RELEASE OF**  
***CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN AND HIS COMPANIONS.***

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By P. RIKORD,  
CAPTAIN IN THE IMPERIAL RUSSIAN NAVY.



# ACCOUNT

OF

## VOYAGES TO JAPAN, &c.

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It was on the 11th of July, in the year 1811, at eleven o'clock, *a.m.* and also in the eleventh month of the year—reckoning its commencement, according to ancient custom, from September—that the melancholy event occurred, which has long been a source of painful recollections to all who then served on board the sloop *Diana*, and which will never be erased from their memory.

With the circumstances of the unexpected misfortune, which, on that day, befel Captain Golownin, the reader is already acquainted. That extraordinary affair filled us with anxiety and dismay, and annihilated the hope of a speedy return to our country, with which we had flattered ourselves on leaving Kamschatka, to survey the Kurile Islands: for as fate had, by that severe stroke, separated us in so cruel a manner, from our worthy and beloved chief, who had been for five years our constant companion in danger, we thought no longer of returning to our relatives and friends.



Impressed with this feeling, and relying on the protection of the Almighty, the officers and seamen of the *Diana* unanimously resolved not to leave the coasts of Japan, until they had made every possible effort to deliver their comrades, if they still lived ; or, if not, to avenge the death, which it was sometimes feared they had suffered.

We had followed Captain Golownin and his escort, with our telescopes, from the ship to the gates of the fortress. We observed, that they were conducted thither by a great number of men, whom, from their brilliant and variously coloured dresses, we supposed to be Japanese officers of distinction. Implicitly following Captain Golownin's arrangements, I entertained not the slightest suspicion of treachery on the part of the Japanese ; indeed, so blindly did I rely on their sincerity, that I even made festive preparations for the reception of strangers of consideration, as I thought it probable that our Captain might invite some of the Japanese officers to come on board with him. Towards noon, while these preparations were still in progress, we suddenly heard on shore the report of muskets and frightful screams ; we saw a multitude of people rush out of the gates of the fortress, and run towards the boat in which Captain Golownin had landed. We could clearly distinguish, by our telescopes, that these people hastened forward without any order, and that they took possession of the mast, the sail, the rudder, and all the

rigging of the boat. We could also perceive them dragging one of the boat's crew and the Kurile, into the fortress, through the gates, which were then shut upon them. Immediately a profound stillness prevailed; the whole of the buildings, down nearly to the water's edge, were hung with stripped cotton cloth, so that we were prevented from seeing what passed behind this curtain, and no one appeared in front of it. We were tortured by the dreadful uncertainty in which we were suspended respecting the fate of our comrades. By placing himself in our situation, the reader will be better able to conceive our feelings, than I am to express them: and if he be acquainted with the Japanese history, he will readily anticipate what we had to expect from the vindictive character of that people.

Without a moment's delay, I gave orders for weighing anchor, and stood in towards the town, expecting that the Japanese, on perceiving a sloop of war so near them, would, perhaps, abandon their intention; enter into negotiations and deliver up our friends. But as the depth of the water suddenly diminished to two fathoms and a half, we were compelled to cast anchor at a tolerable distance from the land, near enough, indeed, to make our shot reach the works, but too far off to permit us to do them any serious injury. Whilst we were preparing for action, the Japanese opened their batteries on the heights, but their shot passed over us. The honour of my country and our flag

which, though respected by all civilized powers, was thus grossly insulted, determined me to fire upon the place. We fired about one hundred and seventy guns, and observed that our shot reached the batteries, but without producing any important effect, as the whole works towards the sea were surrounded by a very thick earthen wall. We experienced, however, as little inconvenience from the enemy's fire. Considering it, therefore, unnecessary to remain longer in this situation, we ceased firing, and weighed anchor. The Japanese then became bolder, and fired away more spiritedly, in proportion as we receded from the town. As I had not a sufficient number of men to venture a landing, I could undertake nothing decisive for the deliverance of our companions. We were only fifty-one men, including officers; we had lost our beloved and honoured captain, who, in traversing the ocean, had watched over us with an anxious care, under many different climates; and treachery had snatched some of our bravest companions from among us, who had, probably, experienced the most cruel of deaths:—these reflections exasperated the whole crew in the highest degree. They all desired to avenge the perfidy of the Japanese, and were all ready to storm the fortress, and execute a dreadful retaliation, though at the risk of all their lives. With such men, animated with such feelings, it would not have been difficult to have made the

enemy experience serious consequences from their conduct; but the ship must have been left unprotected, and might have been easily set on fire, and then the bad or good success of our attempt could not be known in Russia, and all the observations, which we had collected during our voyage in the Kurile Islands, would have been lost. We, therefore, cast anchor without the range of the guns of the fortress, and determined on writing to our captain. In our letter we expressed our grief for his loss, and our indignation at the conduct of the commander of Kunashier, whose aggression was a direct infringement of the laws of nations. We informed him that we would return immediately to Okotzk, to make known what had happened, but that we were at the same time all prepared to risk our lives for his deliverance. All the officers signed this letter, and it was deposited in the cask which had been placed near the harbour. Towards evening we moved farther from the shore, and held ourselves in readiness the whole of the night, in case of an attack from the enemy.

Next morning we perceived by our telescopes that the Japanese were removing their property of every kind on packhorses, probably from an idea that we intended to set fire to the town. At eight o'clock in the morning, as senior officer, I assumed, though with the most painful feelings, the command of the ship, and requested all the officers

to state in writing what they considered the best means to which we could resort for the deliverance of our countrymen. They all concurred in opinion that it would be advisable to discontinue hostilities, which could have no useful result, but might render the fate of the prisoners worse, or perhaps, occasion the sacrifice of their lives, if the enemy were otherwise inclined to preserve them ; and that it would be advisable to return to Okotzk, and to obtain from our Government, sufficient means either for delivering our unfortunate comrades, or for avenging their death.

When it was daylight, I sent the second pilot, Srednago, in a boat to the cask, for the purpose of seeing whether the letter we had placed in it the day before was removed ; but before he reached the cask, he heard drums beating within the fortress, and returned for fear of being taken by the Japanese *baidars*. In fact, we soon perceived a *baidar* put off from the shore, and at a short distance from it throw out a new cask with a black pennant. We weighed anchor, stood into the harbour and manned a boat for the purpose of examining whether the cask contained a letter or anything by which we might obtain some idea of the fate that had befallen our companions. We ascertained, however, that the cask was attached to a rope, the other end of which extended to the shore, and by which it was imperceptibly drawn back, with the view of enticing our boat nearer the land and

thus getting possession of her. We once more cast anchor, and were again plunged into all the torments of incertitude. Had our comrades fallen victims to the sanguinary spirit of Asiatic vengeance? Or, had the boasted prudence of the Japanese restrained them from sacrificing seven helpless prisoners?—The only thing left for us now to do was to make it appear that we did not doubt the existence of our unfortunate companions, and that we considered the Japanese incapable of acting towards prisoners in a manner inconsistent with the practice of civilized powers. With this view I dispatched Midshipman Filatoff in a boat to the promontory, with the linen, the razors, and some books, belonging to the officers, all well packed up, also the clothes of the sailors, each packet having a particular superscription, with orders to leave these things in one of the deserted villages.

On the 14th with painful feelings we left this bay, which the officers of the *Diana* appropriately named the BAY OF DECEIT, and steered direct to Okotzk, almost always surrounded by a thick fog. This, however, was the only unpleasant circumstance of which we had to complain during our voyage, as the wind was favourable and moderate; but the storm in my soul raged with unbounded fury while we were becalmed a whole day in sight of the detested Island of Kunashier.

A feeble ray of hope, however, sometimes flattered me that I was not for ever separated from my

friends. From morning to night I observed the coast through a telescope, in the expectation of perceiving at least one who might have made his escape in a boat ; but when we reached the Eastern Ocean, where the fog scarcely permitted us to see a few fathoms around us, the most gloomy reflexions tormented me, and allowed me no repose either day or night. I inhabited the same cabin which I had for five years shared with my friend Golownin, and in which most of the things remained as he left them on that unfortunate day ; this tended constantly to remind me of his presence. The officers, on coming to me with reports, frequently addressed me from habit in his name, and, whenever this mistake occurred, the tears started into our eyes. How often had I here conversed with him on the possibility of reestablishing that good understanding with the Japanese which had been interrupted by the culpable actions of some imprudent men. How delighted were we at the idea of thus being serviceable to our country !—and now !—Golownin, with two distinguished officers and four sailors, were snatched from among us by people who were notorious in Europe for their cruel persecution of Christians,—while their fate was to us wrapt in impenetrable obscurity !

On the 16th day of a fortunate voyage, the town of Okotzk began to rise to our view from the sea. The new church was particularly distinguishable and attractive to us, who had for a long time

been deprived of the consolation of seeing a church. The sight of a Christian building is at all times enlivening to the eyes of a sailor ; but how much more so to those who are struggling with misfortune. Favourable ideas of the inhabitants of the new landing place are awakened by it. Here the view is the more remarkable as the low promontory, or rather the sandbank on which Okotzk is built, is not descried in approaching it from the sea, until the whole town is seen at once.

In order to lose no time I ordered a signal to be made by hoisting a flag, and firing a gun, and we lay-to for a pilot. The commandant of the port soon sent out Lieutenant Schachoff, with instructions to conduct us to the best anchoring ground. I immediately reported to the commandant of the port, Capt. Minitzky, the misfortune which had befallen Golownin, who was bound to him as well as to me by the ties of friendship, ever since we had served together in the English fleet. Minitzky participated most sincerely in our feelings, and to his prudent advice, and active co-operation in all that depended on him, I am indebted for much consolation. Indeed, had it not been for him, the highest authorities might, from the unstudied manner in which I had drawn up my report, have concluded that I had not made every possible effort which duty required for the delivery of Golownin.

As my stay in Okotzk during the winter could be of no advantage to the public service, I pro-



ceeded in September, with the consent of Captain Minitzky, to Irkutsk, with the intention of going to Petersburg, in order to inform the Minister of Marine circumstantially of every particular that had occurred, and to receive his orders respecting a fresh voyage to the Japanese coasts for the liberation of our countrymen.

Thus terminated a voyage, which had cost us many sacrifices, and which we had undertaken under the consoling persuasion, that after fulfilling the orders of our Government, and collecting information respecting remote countries, we should return again into the bosom of our families ; but the hard fate which had befallen our companions annihilated this hope.

It was necessary that I should accomplish the journey to Petersburg, and back again to Okotzk, in the course of the same winter. I could not, therefore, wait to go by the sledge-road from Jakutsk, where I arrived about the end of September, but was obliged to proceed on horseback to Irkutsk, which journey I completed in fifty-six days. I rode the whole of the distance, which is three thousand wersts. I must observe, that this single journey by land was more fatiguing to me than all my sea voyages. To a sailor, who has only been accustomed to the motion of the waves, the vertical jolting of a horse is a real torment. In order to gain time, I sometimes ventured to ride, in twenty-four hours, two long stages, each of forty-five wersts ; but I

felt afterwards as if I had been broken on a wheel, and even my jaws refused to perform their usual office. Besides, the autumn road, from Jakutzk to Irkutzk, which is travelled on horseback only, is very dangerous, as it consists chiefly of narrow paths, passing along steep declivities that form the banks of the Lena. In many places the stream were vaulted over with pieces of ice, called by the inhabitants *nakips* ;\* and, as the Jakutzkan horses are in general unshod, they often fall on the ice. Once, as I was riding tolerably fast, without perceiving a dangerous nakip of this kind, I fell, too suddenly to extricate my foot from the stirrup, and rolling down the precipice along with my horse, paid for my carelessness by a sprained ancle, and have reason to thank God that I escaped without breaking my neck. I would, therefore, advise those who have to travel such roads, not to allow themselves to be occupied in thought, as the horses have a bad habit of climbing up the precipices, and when they meet with a nakip on an abrupt declivity, the fall of the rider is almost inevitable.

In Irkutzk I was very kindly received by the Civil Governor, Treskin, to whom I was obliged to apply, in the absence of the Governor-General of Siberia. He had already received my account from the Commandant of Okotzk, and had long since forwarded

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\* This word signifies, properly, the stoney covering of incruusted bodies, or what is formed by the sediment in vessels.

it to the superior authorities in Petersburg, accompanied with a request that a new expedition should be dispatched to the Japanese coasts, for the liberation of the prisoners. This was, to me, an unexpected but very gratifying circumstance (since it was solely on that account that I had undertaken the dangerous journey from Okotzk to Petersburg) and induced me, with the approbation of the Governor, to await in Irkutsk the final decision on the subject. Governor Treskin displayed great sorrow for Golownin's misfortune, and assisted me in drawing up the plan of the expedition, which was immediately forwarded to the Governor-General Pestel for his inspection. However, amidst the pressure of political affairs at that period, the sanction of the Emperor could not be obtained, and I was ordered to return to Okotzk ; and, with the permission of the proper authorities, to proceed to complete our still unfinished survey, in the sloop *Diana*, and also to visit the Island of Kunashier, in order to ascertain what had been the fate of our companions.

During the winter, the Japanese, Leonsaimo, with whom the reader has already become acquainted, through Captain Golownin's Narrative, was, by the express command of the Civil Governor, brought to Irkutsk, where he experienced a very good reception. Great pains were taken to convince him of the amicable intentions of our Government towards him, in which, as he understood Russian tolerably well, we apparently succeeded, and

he assured us that the Russians would be taken care of in Japan, and that the investigation of their case would soon be brought by his Government to a happy conclusion. In company with this Japanese I returned to Okotzk, not as before on horseback, but travelling in a convenient winter-carriage along the frozen Lena, as far as Jakutzk, from which we took our departure at the end of March.

At this season of the year the blossoms of spring begin to appear in countries which are blessed with the smiles of nature ; but here, so severe a winter prevailed, that pieces of ice still served the poor inhabitants, instead of panes of glass, for their windows, and were not yet exchanged, as happens when the thaw sets in, for Muscovy glass. the road to Okotzk was also so deeply covered with snow as to be rendered impassable to horses. Neither I, nor my Japanese companion, had patience to wait till the snow should melt ; we, therefore, seated ourselves on rein-deers, and their masters, hardy Tongusians, were our conductors. I must do the justice to this beautiful and useful animal to say, that it is much more convenient for riding in these countries than a horse ; for the rein-deer has an equal motion, does not plunge, and is so tame, that, in case of the rider falling, it remains as it were fixed to the spot. This we experienced frequently during the first days of our journey, as we had many falls, occasioned by the nature of the saddles, and the manner in which

they are placed. These saddles are very small and unsteady, owing to their having no stirrups, and being placed upon the shoulders of the animal, as the back of the rein-deer is too weak to bear any weight in the middle.

On my arrival in Okotzk, I found that the *Diana* had already received the most necessary supplies. It had, however, as yet been impossible to procure every thing requisite for fitting her out, in consequence of the great inconveniences, which the river Ochota presents in many respects. But in spite of these obstacles we finally succeeded, through the activity of Captain Minitzky, in placing the ship in as good a state of equipment as could have been accomplished in the best Russian port. I, therefore, with pleasure, publicly return him the thanks to which he is justly entitled, for having so greatly contributed to the success of my voyage. To increase the number of the *Diana's* crew, he gave me a non-commissioned officer and ten men of the Okotzk corps of marines, and to diminish the dangers of the voyage, he placed at my disposal an Okotzk transport brig, named the *Sotik*, to the command of which I appointed Lieutenant Filatoff, one of my officers. I likewise selected from the number of my officers, Lieutenant Jakuschkin, to command another transport, called the *Paul*, which was bound to Kamtschatka with provisions.

On the 18th of July, 1812, when every thing

was prepared for our departure, I received into the ship six Japanese, who had been shipwrecked on the coasts of Kamtschatka, and whom I wished to convey back to their country. Some circumstances attending the shipwreck of these men deserve to be mentioned. It happened during the same year in which our comrades were made prisoners on the Japanese coast; and, as Providence seemed to have purposely so ordained it, out of the whole crew there remained only a number equal to that of our countrymen in Japan. According to European views, it will, therefore, be supposed that an exchange might now easily have been made, but the sequel will show how different the Japanese laws are, in this respect, from ours.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, on the 22d of July, we set sail, in company with the *Sotik* brig. My intention was, to take the shortest course to Kunashier, by the Pikoff Channel, or, at least, by the Straits of Defries.

Nothing occurred on this voyage worthy of remark, excepting that we were at one time in very great danger. On the 27th of July, about mid-day, the clouded sky had so cleared up that we were enabled, with considerable accuracy, to determine our situation, which was found to be thirty-seven miles northward of the Island of St. John. This island was discovered by Billings, on a voyage, in the ship called *Russia's Glory*, from Okotzk to Kamtschatka. Its geographical situation, according

to astronomical observation, is very correctly determined by Captain Krusenstern. In general, all places, whose situations this able mariner has determined, may serve for the regulation of the chronometer, with as much accuracy as the Observatory at Greenwich. We, therefore, did not entertain the least doubt concerning our situation with respect to this island, particularly as we had, on the same day, taken the meridian altitude of the sun pretty correctly. We, therefore, determined to steer in such a direction as to pass the island at the distance of ten miles, and I made signal to the *Sotik* to keep within about half a mile astern of the *Diana*. I wished, if the weather should permit, to make observations on the Island of St. John, as it is very seldom seen either by the Company's ships or the Okotzk transports, in consequence of its lying out of the usual course from Okotzk to Kamtschatka.

On the 28th of July, at midnight, we had a breeze, accompanied by thick fog, through which, about two o'clock in the morning, we suddenly perceived a high rock straight ahead of the ship, and scarcely twenty fathoms distant. How dreadful was our situation. We were in the midst of the ocean, with a perpendicular rock so near, that we every moment expected the ship would be shattered to pieces—who could conceive our deliverance possible? Providence, however, preserved us. We instantly endeavoured to put about, and to check the rapid course of the vessel, in order that, if we

could not entirely avoid the danger, we might, at least, diminish the damage that must ensue from our coming in contact with the rock. We thus received only some slight shocks on the bows, and perceiving an open passage towards the south—for there were rocks on every side—we directed our course through it, and in this manner cleared the rock which had threatened us with destruction and others which we descried through the mist. After effecting this passage we followed the current, and succeeded in getting through another strait, formed by rocks of frightful magnitude. We now made sail, and distanced these threatening rocks. We had warned the *Sotik*, by a fog-signal, of the approaching danger, which she also happily avoided.

The fog dispersed about four o'clock, when we perceived the whole extent of the danger through which we had passed. The Island of St. John was scarcely to be seen for the rocks by which it was surrounded. It is about a mile in circumference, and has less the appearance of an island, than of a rock of a conical form projecting from the sea, and inaccessible on all sides. Near it, to the eastward, are four large rocks, but between which of them the current had conveyed us, we could not, in consequence of the thickness of the fog, ascertain. The terror which the view of these rocks now excited, was greater than that which we experienced on the preceding dreadful night; for we were then so eagerly employed in working the ship, that we



had no time to reflect on the death which seemed to await us. When, however, we passed the rock so near that we might have leaped upon it, and the sloop struck three times, every shock pierced my very soul. Our voices were so completely drowned by the noise of the waves dashing against the rock, that none of my orders could be heard. Despair rendered my heart torpid, and the last feeling that remained with me was regret at the idea that the six Japanese, on whom we had depended for the liberation of our comrades, were now destined to perish. Besides the Island St. John we also saw to our great joy, when the weather cleared up, our companion the *Sotik*, at a short distance from us. But the atmosphere soon became more foggy than ever, and prevented us from seeing farther around us than to the distance of a few fathoms.

Nothing remarkable happened after this ; for contrary winds, and impediments of that kind, are ordinary difficulties in voyages. About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 12th of August, we saw the first land, which was the north end of the Island Ooroopa, but, owing to the fog, and unfavourable wind, we could not pass Defries Straits until the 15th of August ; and the same obstacles detained us thirteen days on the coasts of Eetooroopa, Tshikotana and Kunashier, so that we did not arrive in the roadstead, which we had the year before named the *Bay of Deceit*, until the 28th of August.

As we passed, at gun-shot distance, the works for the defence of the harbour, we observed that a new battery of fourteen cannons was erected in two tiers, one above the other. As soon as we appeared in the bay, the Japanese concealed themselves; they did not fire, nor could we perceive any movement whatever in the place. The whole of the buildings towards the shore were hung with striped cotton cloth, so that we could only see the roofs of the large barracks. All their boats were drawn on shore. From their not firing, we began to hope that the Japanese now entertained a more favourable opinion of us than before, and we cast anchor at two miles from the works.

It has been already mentioned, that the native of Japan, called Leonsaimo, whom we had with us, understood something of the Russian language. He had been carried away six years before by Lieutenant Chwostoff. With his assistance, we proposed to draw up a short letter to the Governor of the island, consisting of an extract from a memorandum which the Civil Governor of Irkutsk had written. It stated the reason which had induced our Government to send the *Diana* to the Japanese coasts, and after describing the treachery practised against Capt. Golownin, concluded in the following terms:

“ Notwithstanding these unexpected hostile proceedings, we are bound to fulfil the commands of our Monarch, and to bring back all the Japanese who have suffered shipwreck on the coasts

“ of Kamtschatka; whereby it will be evident that  
“ we do not entertain any kind of hostile intention,  
“ and we persuade ourselves that the Russian pri-  
“ soners will also be restored to us, as innocent per-  
“ sons, who have done injury to no one. But if, con-  
“ trary to our expectations, such liberation cannot  
“ take place, in consequence of its being necessary  
“ to await the decision of the Japanese Govern-  
“ ment, or, on account of other circumstances, we  
“ will return next year with the same request.”

In the translation of this letter, Leonsaimo, in whom we had placed all our hopes, betrayed an evident design to practise some deception. A few days before our arrival in Kunashier, I had requested him to set about the translation, but he constantly pretended the letter was too diffuse, he could not translate it. “ I translate:” said he, in his broken Russian, “ I translate what you say, and  
“ will write short letter. With us letter must not  
“ be long, we do not love the compliment, but  
“ the thing ;—Chinese write so to us and lose all  
“ the sense.” In consequence of this Japanese maxim, I was obliged to let him have his way.

On the day of our arrival at Kunashier, I called him into the cabin and requested the letter. He gave it to me on half a sheet of paper, which was entirely written over. As in his hieroglyphic mode of writing, a single character sometimes expressed a sentence, the half sheet probably contained a very circumstantial description of all that he considered

necessary to communicate to his government, but which might prove very disadvantageous to the settlement of our business. I told him that the letter appeared much too long for my object, and that he had, without doubt, introduced a great deal which related solely to his own affairs. I requested him, if he had no objection, to read it to me in Russian. He did not seem in the least offended at this request, but told me that the paper contained in fact three letters; the first, which was short, explained our business; the second contained an account of the shipwreck of the Japanese; and the third gave a description of the misfortunes he had himself experienced in Russia. I told him that it was only necessary at present to send the first letter, and that the others must be deferred until another opportunity; but if he was desirous that they should be all sent together, that he must give me a copy of them. He immediately copied the first without hesitation, but stopped at the others, saying they were too difficult. "How can they be too difficult," said I, "since you wrote them yourself?" he answered me angrily, "I will sooner destroy them." He immediately took up a penknife, cut off the part of the paper on which they were written, put it in his mouth, and after chewing it with a cunning and spiteful expression of countenance, in a few moments swallowed it in my presence. The contents of the paper thus remained to us a mystery; but what we had, above all, to regret was that we had

to rely on this malignant and artful wretch !—I now wished to ascertain whether he had actually spoken of our business on the remaining piece of paper. During our voyage, I had frequently conversed with him on many circumstances respecting Japan, and had noted down the Japanese of a great number of Russian words ; I had also out of mere curiosity made him try to pronounce and write several Russian family names, and of course, that of my unfortunate friend Wassili Michailowitsch Golownin, which was always present to my memory, was not omitted. I now requested him to shew me the place in the letter where this name stood. He did so, I compared the characters with those I already possessed, and thus convinced myself that the letter really treated of Golownin. I now commissioned one of our Japanese to deliver the letter, in person, to the governor of the island. We put him ashore, opposite our anchoring-place. He was immediately surrounded by hairy Kuriles, who had probably concealed themselves under the thick high grass, in order to watch our motions. He accompanied them to the fortress, and scarcely had he approached the gate when the batteries began to fire upon the bay. These were the first shots discharged since our arrival. I asked Leonsaimo, why they fired, when they saw that only a single man from the Russian ship was, in confidence, approaching the town ? He answered : “ In Japan it is so, such law ; they do not kill man but shoot.” This un-

expected proceeding on the part of the Japanese annihilated every hope I had formed of being able to negotiate with them. At first, when we approached the fortress, they did not fire; but they had now begun to fire upon our flag of truce in a manner which was not easy to explain, but which indicated nothing favourable. No movement was made on board the ship, and the boat which had conveyed the Japanese on shore, had returned and lay alongside. At the gate of the fortress he was surrounded by a multitude of people, and we soon lost sight of him. Three days passed away in vain expectation of his return.

During the whole of this time we were constantly occupied, from morning to night, in viewing the shore, through telescopes, so that not even the smallest objects from the place where the Japanese had landed to the fortress could escape our notice. We often imagined we saw him, and cried out with joy, "here comes our messenger!" The deceptions of this kind were, sometimes, of long duration, particularly after sun-set, and in foggy weather, when the refraction of the rays of light so wonderfully increased the size of objects, that we often mistook a crow, with extended wings, for a Japanese in his loose night-gown. Leonsaimo, himself, frequently stood several hours together with the telescope in his hand, and seemed much surprized that nobody came to us. The fortress remained as closely shut as a tomb.

On the approach of night we always prepared the ship for action, in case of attack. The deep silence which prevailed, was disturbed only by the echo of the watch-word of our sentinels, which resounded through the Bay, and informed our enemy that we were not slumbering. As we were in want of fresh water, I ordered a boat to put ashore, with armed men, for the purpose of filling our water casks, and a second Japanese was also, at the same time, dispatched on the same mission as the former, to explain to the Governor why the Russian ships had come to these coasts. I requested Leonsaimo to send with him a short note ; but he declined, saying, “ As no answer is made to the first letter, I fear to write again in contradiction to our laws.” He, however, advised me to draw up a memorandum in the Russian language, which the Japanese who bore it might translate. I did so. In the course of a few hours this second messenger returned, saying, that he had been admitted to the Governor, and had presented the paper I had written ; which, however he would not receive. He then told the Governor that the Russians had sent some men on shore to get water. “ Very well,” answered he, “ let them take water, and as for you, go back where you came from.” He said no more, and departed. Our Japanese had spent some time among a number of hairy Kuriles ; but, as he did not understand their language, he could learn nothing from them. He

told us that the Japanese remained at a distance, and did not venture to approach him; and that, finally, the Kuriles had turned him out of the gate of the fortress by force. The honest fellow told me that he wished to have remained on land, and that he had begged the Governor, with tears in his eyes, to allow him to stay at least for one night; but was refused. We, therefore, concluded that our first messenger had met with the same reception, and that, from the fear of experiencing no better treatment from us, in consequence of his bringing no news of our comrades, he had concealed himself among the hills, or had, perhaps, gone to some other town on the island. I wished, on a subsequent day, to provide myself with more water, and for that purpose sent the remaining empty casks on shore, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The Japanese, who attentively watched all our motions, began to fire at random, though our boats were already near the shore. In order to avoid the least motive for hostilities I recalled the boats, by a signal, which being observed by the Japanese, the firing immediately ceased.

We had now been seven days in the Bay of *Deceit*, and it was but too evident that a decided distrust of our intentions prevailed, for the Commandant, either from reluctance on his own part, or by order of his Government, refused to hold any communication with us. How then could we hope to hear any tidings of our comrades?



We recollected that we had, in the preceding year, left several articles belonging to our unhappy friends, in a fishing village, and we wished to ascertain whether they had been carried away. I accordingly directed Lieutenant Filatoff, who commanded the brig, to land and visit the village, accompanied by a party of armed men. As the brig approached the shore, a firing commenced from the batteries, which, however, owing to the great distance, proved ineffectual. After a few hours had elapsed, Mr. Filatoff sent to inform me, that the house in the fishing village, where the articles had been deposited, was quite empty. This seemed a favourable omen, and we were revived by the hope, that our comrades were still in existence. On the following day I again sent the same Japanese ashore, to inform the Commandant why a landing had been made by the brig. With considerable difficulty I prevailed on Leonsaimo, to translate into the Japanese language a short note, in which I requested that the Governor would grant me an interview. I wished likewise to state my reason for sending the brig to the fishing village, but the obstinate Leonsaimo refused to make this explanation. The Japanese returned at an early hour on the following morning. The Governor had received the letter, but instead of returning a written answer, he merely said: "Well, well, the Russian Captain may hold an interview with me in the city." This amounted to a decided refusal; at least, it

would have been absurd in me to have accepted the invitation. On being informed of our reason for landing at the fishing-village, the Governor observed:—"What things? They were taken away immediately." This equivocal answer gave us once more reason to fear that our unfortunate friends were no longer in existence. Besides, our Japanese messenger was not suffered to pass the night in the city; and was obliged to lie down among the grass, near the shore, opposite to the *Diana*. To carry on any further correspondence, by means of Japanese, who understood not a word of Russian, appeared perfectly useless. We had hitherto received no written answer to *any* of our letters, and we were, therefore, reduced to the alternative of again quitting the shores of Japan, harassed by the most tormenting uncertainty. Leonsaimo, indeed, understood Russian, but, as he was our only interpreter, we did not wish to dispatch him to the Commandant, except in a case of the most urgent necessity, lest he should be forcibly detained; or, on his own part, feel reluctant to return.

I, therefore, thought of another scheme. It appeared to me, that, without any violation of our pacific conduct towards the Japanese, we might stop one of the vessels which we had frequently observed sailing near us, and thus endeavour to communicate with some Japanese of distinction, from whom

we might obtain certain information respecting the fate of our comrades. In this way we expected to release ourselves from our difficulties, and to render unnecessary another voyage to Kunashier, from which we could hope for no better results than had already taken place. We anxiously watched for the space of three days, but no ship appeared within sight, and we concluded, that, as the autumn had set in, the Japanese had, for the meanwhile, suspended their navigation.

Our only hope rested now on Leonsaimo, but I wished, if possible, to ascertain his real sentiments before I should send him ashore, and, for this purpose told him, that, as I intended to put to sea on the following morning, it would be advisable for him to write a letter to his friends. On hearing this, his countenance suddenly changed, and with evident embarrassment he thanked me for the information, saying :—" Well, I will merely write to " tell them, that they never need expect to see me again." Then with the most violent agitation, he exclaimed :—" I will put an end to my days—will go no more to sea—must die among the Russians." To detain a man in such a state of mind could be of little use to us, and it was impossible not to recognise a just ground for the feeling he manifested, when the sufferings which he had endured, during his six years captivity in Russia, were considered. There was, indeed, reason to fear, that

as he was bereft of every hope of returning to his native country, he would not fail, in a fit of despair, to commit suicide ; I accordingly resolved to employ him to lay our propositions once more before the Governor, and, if possible, to prevail on him to grant me an interview. On being made acquainted with my determination, he immediately swore, that if he were not forcibly detained he would return and bring me all the information he could collect. As there was at least a probability that the Japanese might not allow him to return, I thought it advisable to adopt the following precautions:—I directed that he should be accompanied by his countryman, who had already been sent on shore, and I provided Leonsaimo with three cards:—On the first of these cards were written the words —“ Capt. Golownin, and the rest of the Russians, are in Kunashier ;” on the second—“ they have been removed to Matsmai, Nangasaky, or Yeddo ;” and, on the third—“ they are dead.” It was agreed, that in case of Leonsaimo being detained, he should give one of these cards to the Japanese who accompanied him, cancelling or adding such words as the information he should obtain might require.

We landed them on the 4th of September, and, to our great joy, we saw them both quit the fortress on the following day. We immediately sent the boat on shore for them ;—we were cheered by the hope of hearing some welcome tidings of our friends. Meanwhile we watched them closely

with our telescopes, and, to our astonishment, perceived that the other Japanese quitted Leonsaimo, and, turning in a lateral direction, concealed himself among the thick grass; Leonsaimo came on board the ship alone. On my inquiring where his companion was, he replied, that he knew nothing of him. With eager anxiety we all thronged to hear his message, but he requested to have an interview with me in the cabin. He then, in the presence of Lieutenant Rudakoff, stated all the difficulties he had experienced in gaining access to the Governor, who, without hearing a word he had to say, inquired "Why the Captain had not come on shore himself?" Leonsaimo replied, that he knew nothing of my reason for not doing so; but that the object of his errand was to learn what had become of Captain Golownin and the other Russian prisoners. Harassed between hope and fear, we waited to hear the answer of the Governor, but Leonsaimo wished first to be assured, that no harm would befall himself on disclosing the truth. I assured him that he had nothing to fear, and he at length pronounced the dreadful words:—"THEY ARE ALL DEAD!"

This information plunged us into the deepest affliction, and we could not, without horror, cast our eyes towards the shore where the blood of our friends had been shed. As I had received no instructions how to act in such a case, it appeared to me that I should be justified in taking vengeance

on the faithless Japanese, being well convinced that our Government would never suffer their atrocities to pass unpunished. I wished, however, to obtain more certain evidence than the mere words of Leonsaimo, and accordingly sent him once more to the fortress with orders to obtain from the commandant a written confirmation of his message. We, moreover, promised immediately to liberate him, and the other Japanese we still had on board, in case we should resolve to adopt hostile measures; at the same time I gave orders for preparing both vessels for action.

Leonsaimo was to have returned that day, but we saw nothing of him. The following day likewise elapsed, and he did not appear; the expectation of his return was, therefore, very uncertain; while, at the same time, his absence left still subject to a shade of doubt the sad tidings we had received. I, therefore, resolved not to quit the bay until we should fall in with a vessel, or some individual, from whom we could ascertain the truth.

On the morning of the 6th. of September we descried a Japanese Baidare. I immediately dispatched Lieutenant Rudakoff to capture it; placing under his command Messrs. Srednago and Sawelieff, two officers who had both volunteered their services on this first hostile proceeding. Our boat quickly overtook the Baidare, and captured it near the land. The crew immediately jumped over-

board, and escaped ; two Japanese, and a hairy Kurile were, however, found by Mr. Sawelieff concealed among the bushes on the shore, but from them we could obtain no information. When I began to interrogate them, they fell on their knees and answered every question with the hissing exclamation—*sché! sché!* No pains were spared to manifest kindness to them, but all our endeavours to extract information from them proved fruitless. Heavens ! thought I, what method can now be devised to obtain an explanation from these unaccountable people !

On the following morning we saw a large Japanese ship steering towards the harbour, I immediately dispatched Lieutenant Rudakoff with express orders not to resort to violence, but merely to terrify the crew ; and, when they surrendered, to conduct the captain to me. After a few hours had elapsed, during which no resistance appeared to be made, we observed that Lieutenant Filatoff had obtained possession of the sloop, and was towing her to our anchoring ground.

On his return, Lieutenant Filatoff reported to me as follows :—When our boats approached the Japanese ship, she seemed to have a great number of armed men on board ; as she took no notice of being hailed, but continued her course, some shots were fired towards her, but in the air. The Japanese immediately slackened sail, and lay too ; and as the ship was close in shore, several of the

crew jumped overboard, in the hope of saving themselves by swimming. Those who were near our boats were picked up, the rest either swam ashore or were drowned.

The whole crew of the Japanese vessel amounted to about sixty individuals, but only the captain was brought to me. His rich yellow dress, his sabre, and other circumstances indicated that he was a person of distinction. I immediately conducted him to the cabin. He saluted me according to the Japanese fashion, with demonstrations of high respect. I assured him that he had no cause for apprehension, and with great frankness of manner he seated himself on a chair in the cabin. I then interrogated him in the Japanese language, of which I had learned a little from Leonsaimo. He informed me that his name was TACHATY-KACHI, and that he enjoyed the rank of a *Sindofnamotsh*, a term which intimated that he was the commander and owner of several ships; ten, he stated, belonged entirely to himself. He had come from the island of Eetooroop, and was proceeding to the harbour of Chakodade in the Island of Matsmai, with a cargo of dried fish, but contrary winds had obliged him to put into the Bay of Kunashier.

In order to make him more readily acquainted with every thing relative to our proceedings, I shewed him the letter which Leonsaimo had written to the commandant of the island. Having read it,



he suddenly exclaimed, "Captain Moor and five  
" Russians are now in the city of Matsmai." He  
then informed me when they had been brought  
from Kunashier, through what towns they had  
been conveyed, and how long they had remained  
in each place; at the same time giving me a de-  
scription of Mr. Moor's person. One circumstance  
alone tended to dispirit us: he did not mention a  
word of Captain Golownin. We reflected, that in  
his situation, he might naturally wish to persuade  
us that our countrymen were still living: yet, how  
could he invent so many circumstances in the space  
of a few minutes? On the other hand, we could  
in no way account for Leonsaimo's conduct. What  
could induce him to fabricate a tale so distressing  
to our feelings? Perhaps, revenge for the atro-  
cities committed by Chwostoff, on the Japanese  
coasts? or, was he afraid of being detained on  
board the *Diana*, had he informed us that our  
comrades were still living? But might he not have  
sent back one of the cards, without returning him-  
self? It was possible, after all, such a message had  
really been sent by the Governor of the island, in  
order that he might rid himself of all further  
trouble and fear might, on the second occasion,  
have prevented Leonsaimo from returning.

Although we were in a state of complete un-  
certainty, there seemed to be a probability that our  
comrades were still living, and I accordingly aban-  
doned all thoughts of hostilities. Our seamen.

however, whose minds had been thrown into a state of fermentation by the distressing news, were not to be so easily calmed. Some of them declared to the officer of the watch, that they recognised in the commander of the Japanese ship, the same chief whom they had seen on the island of Eetooroop in the preceding summer, when we held our first conference with the Japanese. Messrs. Moor and Novitzky were present at this conference, and the latter likewise declared that he perceived a striking resemblance between our prisoner and the officer who was on that island; and, besides, recollected perfectly well that the Eetooroop chief had written down Mr. Moor's name. The seamen who, by my orders, had assembled on the main deck, then exclaimed: "It is not surprising that he should know Mr. Moor's person; but he can give us no tidings of our beloved Captain. Our comrades have certainly perished, and we are all ready to shed our blood to avenge their treacherous murder." Although I secretly cherished the same feelings, I represented to them that the hope of our companions being still in existence, was revived; but that if, unfortunately, they should be dead, our Government would doubtless soon give us an opportunity of manifesting our zeal in avenging so foul a crime.

From that moment I relinquished every hostile demonstration, and resolved to convey Tachatay-Kachi to Kamschatka, hoping, that, in the course of the winter, we might, through his means, obtain

some positive information respecting the fate of our companions, and the views of the Japanese Government. He seemed to be far superior in rank to any of the Japanese with whom we had hitherto communicated, and we consequently supposed that he was better acquainted with the affairs of his country. We afterward learnt that he was a very rich merchant; and that, being commander of his own ships, he enjoyed, according to the Japanese laws, privileges corresponding with those of an officer of state. We, therefore, called him NATSCHALNIK (commander or chief).

I informed him, that he must hold himself in readiness to accompany me to Russia, and explained the circumstances which compelled me to make such an arrangement. He understood me perfectly well, and when I proceeded to state my belief, that Captain Golownin, Mr. Moor, and the rest of the Russian prisoners, had been put to death, he suddenly interrupted me, exclaiming: "That is not true! Captain Moor and five Russians are living in Matsmai, where they are well treated, and enjoy the freedom of walking about the city, accompanied by two officers." When I intimated, that we intended to take him with us, he replied, with astonishing coolness: "Well, well, I am ready;" and merely requested, that, on our arrival in Russia, he might continue to live with me. This I promised he should do, and, likewise, that I would convey him back to Japan in the ensuing

year. He then seemed perfectly reconciled to his unlooked for destiny.

The four Japanese, who still remained on board the ship, understood not a word of Russian, and were, besides, so afflicted with the scurvy, that they would, in all probability, have perished, had they wintered in Kamtschatka. I, therefore, thought it advisable to set them at liberty, and having furnished them with every necessary, I ordered them to be put on shore, hoping that they would, in gratitude, give a good account of the Russians to their countrymen. In their stead, I determined to take four seamen from the Japanese vessel, who might be useful in attending on Tachatay-Kachi, to whom I left the choice of the individuals. But he earnestly intreated, that none of the seamen might be removed from his ship, observing, that they were extremely stupid, and that he feared they would die of grief, owing to the dread they entertained of the Russians. The earnestness of his solicitations on this subject, led me, in some measure, to doubt that our comrades were really living in Matsmai, and I repeated, in a decided manner, my determination to take four of the seamen on board the *Diana*. He then begged that I would accompany him to his ship. When we went on board, he assembled the whole of his crew in the cabin; and having seated himself cross-legged on a long cushion, which was placed on a fine mat, requested that I would take my place beside him. The sailors all knelt

down before us, and he delivered a long speech, in which he stated, that it would be necessary for some of them to accompany us to Russia.

Here a very affecting scene was exhibited.

number of the seamen approached him, with their heads bent downwards, and with great eagerness whispered something to him : their countenances were all bathed in tears. Even Tachatay-Kachi, who had hitherto evinced calmness and resolution, seemed now to be deeply distressed, and began to weep. I, for some time, hesitated to carry my resolution into effect, and was only induced to adhere to it, by the consideration that I would hereafter have the opportunity of interrogating each individual separately, and, probably, thereby ascertaining, whether or not our comrades really existed in Matsmai. I had, however, in other respects, no reason to repent of this determination ; for the Natschalnik, who was a man of rank, and accustomed to live in a style of asiatic luxury, would have experienced serious inconvenience on board our vessel, without his Japanese attendants. Two of the seamen were always, by turns, near his person. As he knew the reasons which obliged me to convey him to Russia, and the message which Leonsaimo had received from the Commandant of the island, I begged that he would write to the latter a minute explanation of all that had taken place. He immediately drew up a letter, having previously inquired the name of our ship, at what

period we had set sail for Kunashier, who Leonsaimo was, &c.

Tachatay-Kachi, and the sailors he selected, soon behaved as though our ship had been their own ; and we, on our side, employed every means to convince them, that we considered the Japanese, not as a hostile, but as a friendly-disposed nation, with whom our good understanding was only accidentally interrupted. The same day we received on board, at my invitation, from the captured vessel, a Japanese lady, who had been the inseparable companion of Tachatay-Kachi, on his voyage from Chakodade, his place of residence, to Eetooroop. She was extremely desirous of seeing our ship, and the strange people and polite enemies, as she styled us, and to witness our friendly intercourse with her countrymen. A Japanese lady was also, to us, no slight object of curiosity. When she came on board she appeared very timid and embarrassed. I requested Tachatay-Kachi to conduct her into my cabin, and, as she advanced, I took her by the other hand. On reaching the cabin door she wished to take off her straw shoes, but as there were neither mats nor carpets in my cabin, I explained to her, by signs, that this singular mark of politeness might be dispensed with among us. On entering the cabin, she placed both hands on her head, with the palms outwards, and saluted us by bending her body very low. I conducted her to a chair, and Kachi requested her to sit down. Fortunately for

this unexpected visitor, there was, on board our vessel, a young and handsome woman, the wife of our surgeon's mate. The Japanese lady seemed highly pleased, on being introduced to her, and they quickly formed an intimacy. Our countrywoman ~~endeavoured to entertain~~ the foreigner with what the women of all countries delight in ; she shewed her her trinkets. Our visitor behaved with all the ease of a woman of fashion ; she examined the ornaments with great curiosity, and expressed her admiration by an agreeable smile. But the fair complexion of our countrywoman seemed most of all to attract her attention. She passed her hands over her face, as though she suspected it had been painted, and, with a smile, exclaimed "*ycee! ycee!*" which signifies *good*. I observed, that our visitor was somewhat vain of her new ornaments, and I held a looking-glass before her, that she might see how they became her. The Russian lady placed herself immediately behind her, in order to shew her the difference of their complexions. She immediately pushed the glass aside, and good humouredly said "*varee! varee!*" (not good). She herself might have been called handsome ; her face was of the oval form, her features regular, and her little mouth, when open, disclosed a set of shining black lacquered teeth. Her black eye-brows, which had the appearance of having been penciled, over-arched a pair of sparkling dark eyes, which were by no means deeply seated. Her hair was black,

and rolled up in the form of a turban, without any ornament, except a few small tortoise-shell combs. She was about the middle size, and elegantly formed. Her dress consisted of six wadded silk garments, similar to our night gowns; each fastened round the lower part of the waist by a separate band, and drawn close together from the girdle downwards. They were all of different colours, and the upper one was black. Her articulation was slow, and her voice soft. Her countenance was expressive and interesting, and she was altogether calculated to make a very agreeable impression. She could not be older than eighteen. We entertained her with fine green tea and sweetmeats, of which she eat and drank moderately. On her taking leave I made her some presents, with which she appeared to be very much pleased. I hinted to our countrywoman, that she should embrace her. When the Japanese observed what was intended, she ran into her arms, and kissed her with a smile. Finally, she was landed on Kunashier, by the same Baidare which carried Tachatay-Kachi's letter.

I now confidently expected that the Governor of the Island would send a written communication on board, if not to me, at least to Tachatai-Kachi, and also hoped that he would order Leon-saimo, whom Kachi had expressly mentioned, to return and serve as our interpreter; but, instead of receiving any answer, four guns were, a few days after, fired at our boats when they went on shore for



water. We could, therefore, only conclude that the Governor had received orders from his government to hold no communication with us. I despised this inefficient firing; and wishing to examine all my prisoners thoroughly, I determined not to engage in any rash enterprize which might injure our main object.

As the weather continued fine, I ordered the anchor to be weighed; but Tachatay-Kachi requested that I would previously allow the sailors of his vessel the gratification of viewing the *Diana*. They were accordingly conducted over the ship by turns, and were very curious to be made acquainted with the use of every thing that was new to them; they particularly admired the mechanism of our running rigging, the bold climbing of our sailors up the futtock shrouds, and the still more daring manner in which they ran from the tops out upon the yards, or ascended to the mast-head. I gave orders that they should be taken into my cabin, where they made the same demonstrations of respect as if I had been present. Some Russian brandy was presented to them in silver cups, the influence of which soon rendered them more lively and unreserved in their manners. They contrived to make themselves understood by our sailors, and seemed much pleased with our clothes, shining buttons and coloured cravats, which they prevailed on the seamen to exchange for some of their Japanese trifles. Tachatay-Kachi

observed some empty casks on the deck, and proposed they should be sent on board his ship to be filled. His seamen immediately carried off all our empty casks, and brought them back filled with excellent fresh water. The good-natured Japanese then took leave of us, and returned to their vessel singing as they rowed back. We were much gratified at finding ourselves on so friendly a footing with men whom we had, a short time before, looked upon as our enemies.

In the evening we got under weigh, and immediately all the batteries opened their fire. It was probably suspected that we intended to approach the fortress with hostile intentions : but we were at so great a distance from the batteries that the manner in which the Japanese threw away their shot was to us truly laughable. Our guest likewise laughed, observing : “ Kunashier is a bad place for the Russians ; Nangasaky is better.”

On the following day, adverse winds obliged us to cast anchor in the bay, at a distance of more than seven leagues from the town ; we anxiously watched, with our telescopes, for the return of the *Baidare* which had been sent on shore. *Kachii*, however, assured us that the *Baidare* would not be allowed to come out while our vessel remained in sight of the island.

On the 11th of September we made sail, directing our course towards *Kamtschatka*. During our passage we encountered several violent storms,

which, towards this season of the year, are to be dreaded in all the seas under these latitudes. On the day of our departure, we were for the space of twelve hours in a state of peril, from which only the hand of Providence could have released us. Towards noon a smart gale arose, which soon increased to a violent hurricane. The low islands, between Matsmai and Tschikotana, lay to leeward. The *Diana* could work well to windward, but it appeared that there was a current which, in spite of all our efforts, carried us towards these islands. The sea was running so high that we could not hope to bring up: we were, therefore, driven from the open sea into the straits between Kunashier and Tschikotana, and were in the greatest danger of being wrecked. Every time the lead was cast we observed that we were drawing nearer to the dreadful islands. At half-past three in the morning we found the depth of water decrease, from eighteen to nineteen fathoms, and that we were driving, broadside to, upon an island. In this desperate situation we resorted to the last means by which we could hope to save ourselves. We threw out an anchor, but it would not hold, and the lead shewed that we were in two fathoms less of water, with a bottom of sand and gravel. We threw out another anchor; it dragged; and the ship lay almost on her beam ends with the waves breaking over her. At length, having got all our yards and top-masts down, the ship fortunately

righted and the anchor held. Thus were we, a second time, delivered from apparently unavoidable destruction.

As Tachatay-Kachi occupied the same cabin with me I had every opportunity of communicating with him. For a long time I strove in vain to collect from him some information respecting Golownin. He listened very attentively to the description I gave of his rank and name, and constantly repeated: "I know nothing of him." I was aware that our Russian family names must have a singular sound in the ear of a Japanese. I endeavoured to pronounce the name "Golownin" in all the different ways I could think of, and, at length, to my indescribable joy, Kachi exclaimed: "*Choworin!* I have heard of him! he is, likewise, in Matsmai. The Japanese suppose him to be a Russian *Danmio*" (that is to say, an officer of the first rank). He then proceeded to inform me what he had heard respecting Captain Golownin from persons who had seen him: "He is," said he, "tall, of stately deportment, more reserved in his manners than Mr. Moor, and is not fond of smoking tobacco, though the Japanese have given him the best that can be procured. Mr. Moor, on the contrary, loves to smoke a pipe, and understands our language tolerably well."—This minute description banished all our doubts, and we thanked Providence for having sent us a guest capable of communicating such welcome intelli-

gence. I was now doubly overjoyed on reflecting that I had doubted the truth of the answer brought by Leonsaimo, and had not proceeded to hostilities as I at first intended. I learnt, from our prisoner, that he sailed every year from Nippon to Eetooroop, with goods of various kinds, and returned with cargoes of fish ; but I was much astonished at his not knowing Leonsaimo. I suspected that I did not pronounce the name rightly, and shewed him my memorandum-book in which Leonsaimo had himself written his own name and that of his native city Matsmai. Kachi read the signature, and declared that no merchant of that name had ever lived at Eetooroop ; he added, that he knew every one on the island, and even told me their names. I now repeated all the names which Leonsaimo had attributed to himself, viz. : *Nagatshema*, *Tomogero* and *Chorodsee*. On hearing the latter name, he laughed, and exclaimed with astonishment : “ What Chorodsee ! I know him ! And so he has represented himself in Russia as an Oyagodo ! (a Chief over the Kuriles.) ” “ Yes,” answered I, “ and he stated that he was a wealthy man.” — “ He never possessed a single baidare,” replied Kachi, “ he was a *banin* (an overseer of a fishery), and had also the charge of the correspondence as he was a good penman. He is not a native of Matsmai, but of the Principality of Nambu, and is married to the daughter of a hairy Kurile.” Kachi uttered these last words with a con-

temptuous expression, and drew his hand across his throat, as if to signify that Leonsaimo would forfeit his head were it known, in Japan, that he assumed a rank to which he had no claim.

This unexpected discovery induced me to believe that the Japanese whom I had dispatched to the Governor of the Island, might have yielded to wicked instigations, or acted treacherously in order to gratify a base revenge. It, besides, appeared that I was wrong in attributing the escape of the Japanese, who had left Leonsaimo near the fortress, to the fear of coming back to us: for I learnt from Tachatay-kachi that Japanese subjects who have lived more than one year in a foreign country, are, on their return home, prohibited from repairing, under any pretence, to their own families, but are sent to Yeddo to undergo an examination, where they are generally detained for the remainder of their lives, without the hope of ever seeing their friends again. Our Japanese had lived about a year in Kamtschatka, and consequently that circumstance accounted for their non-appearance.

On leaving the stormy coasts of Japan, we soon found ourselves among the Kurile islands, off *La Bussole* Straits, so named by the celebrated *La Perouse*. The weather was sufficiently clear to enable us to make astronomical observations. We purposely sailed through these wide straits into the sea of Okotzk, and observed the western coasts of

some of the islands, situated towards the north. We then passed into the eastern ocean, through an unexplored strait, between the islands of Roikoke and Matau. As this strait had, as yet, received no designation on any chart, I gave it the name of Golownin, as a mark of respect to our unfortunate Captain, who has contributed so much to give celebrity to the object of our voyages in these seas.

On the 22d of September we discovered the top of the extinguished volcano of Kamtschatka, which was covered with snow. The valleys were, however, beatifully verdant, and the temperature of the atmosphere was mild. Kachi observed, that in the course of his voyages to Eetooroop and Ooroop, in the same season of the year, he had seen more snow on the coasts of these islands, and had experienced a degree of cold far more severe. We approached the Bay of Awatscha with favourable winds, and hoped to enter the harbour of Petropaulowskoi on the following day. But the wind changed, and we were twice driven out to sea. On working up to it with great difficulty for the third time, we were again, during a dark night, in great danger of shipwreck. We entered the harbour on the 3d of October, where we found three ships. one laden with provisions, from Okotzk; and the other two, bearing the American flag, belonged to Mr. Dobell, a citizen of the United States. They had taken in their cargoes, partly in Canton and partly in Manilla. Mr. Dobell himself commanded

one of these vessels, and had formed an excellent plan for establishing commercial relations between Kamtschatka and China, or other neighbouring countries possessing valuable productions.

My first object was, to send our good Japanese on shore. He appeared extremely disconsolate, but this I attributed to the protracted hardships which he had endured on the voyage. His distress, however arose from a very different cause. Our friends came from the shore to congratulate us on our safe arrival, and Kachi now began to lament his fate. Judging from the laws of his own country, he supposed that he would be kept as close a prisoner as our comrades in Japan, and was much astonished at being allowed to reside not merely in the same house, but in the same apartment with me.

On the 12th of October we went ashore together, after having given an entertainment on board the ship, to celebrate our triple escape from shipwreck. Thus terminated our first voyage to Japan, the result of which was the satisfaction of knowing, that our comrades were still in existence, and that proved an ample reward for all the hardships we had undergone.

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As Tachatay-Kachi had, during twenty years, been in the habit of visiting all the harbours of his native country, had considerable knowledge of navigation, and carried on an extensive trade, it was



obvious, that he must be a person known to the Japanese government. His polished manners proved that he belonged to the superior class of society. I had been reluctantly the author of his misfortune, and it afforded me no little consolation to find, that he did not give way to despondency. On the contrary, he cheered himself with the patriotic reflection, that he should be able, on his return home, to prove that our government entertained no hostile designs against Japan, and he pledged his existence, that if an embassy were dispatched to Nangasaky, our countrymen would be immediately liberated. Whilst we enjoyed the society of a man so well informed, and so entirely devoted to our interests, I was mortified that the Japanese interpreter of Irkutsk was not with us, and that he could not possibly visit Kamtschatka until the following year. However, our mutual anxiety to become intelligible to each other, induced Kachi to learn Russian in the course of the winter, and we were soon able to converse together, even on abstract subjects. I related to him all the imprudent transactions which had excited the displeasure of the Japanese, our abortive embassy to Nangasaky, &c. He said, that when the arrival of the Russian ships was known at Nangasaky, all the Japanese earnestly wished for the adoption of a commercial treaty with Russia; and that when certain events (a cruel breach was his expression) led to the dismissal of the Ambassador, all Japan was displeased with the

government. Whilst communicating information respecting his country, and expressing his wish to see a trading intercourse opened between Russia and Japan, he would often say :—" I perceive in  
 " my misfortune the finger of God, who hath  
 " chosen me for his instrument. I had no important  
 " reason for putting into the Bay of Kunashier ;  
 " it happened accidentally ; I had not been there  
 " for five years before, and I came in time to pre-  
 " vent your hostile attack, whereby I have saved  
 " the lives of some dozens of Russians, and perhaps  
 " hundreds of Japanese. This idea animates me,  
 " and I hope, notwithstanding my weak state  
 " of health, to be able to withstand the severe cli-  
 " mate of Kamtschatka."

The attention and sympathy which all the Russians manifested towards Kachi, made so deep an impression in the heart of this worthy man, that he meditated day and night on drawing up a report to his government, which, he intended, should give a very different account of the Russians from any yet presented by a Japanese. Far superior in education and understanding to any of the Japanese who had formerly been among us, he clearly perceived that the good of his country, on which he never reflected without emotion, required an amicable adjustment of the differences which had arisen, and in the course of which our government had taken no part. He was convinced, that if these differences continued, his country would

be the principal sufferer. He, therefore, strove to represent the singular conduct of the Japanese as well as their laws and customs, which are calculated to excite prejudice in the minds of foreigners, in as favourable a point of view as possible. He observed, that they never entertained the design of carrying on a useless contest with a powerful neighbouring empire, though the transgression of some of our countrymen had obliged them to take up arms in their own defence, and had raised in their minds, an idea that Russia entertained hostile designs against them—a notion, which would easily have been removed, had Japan, like other powers, maintained communications with her neighbours. This was, however, prohibited by their laws, and it was, consequently, impossible to ascertain, whether or not those atrocities had been committed by order of our government. Warlike preparations were then made throughout the whole of Japan, but the object of the Japanese was merely to obtain an explanation from the Russian government. “I am confident,” said he, “that a message from the Governor of Irkutsk, declaring that Chwostoff’s proceedings were totally unauthorised, would be sufficient to obtain the liberation of your comrades.” These were not merely empty words, nor were they uttered by Kachi with the view of accelerating his liberation. We had, subsequently, full experience of their truth; and he actually became the instrument, whereby the differences be-

tween the two powers were adjusted, the deliverance of our countrymen was accomplished, and some points, which, if not very important, are yet opposed to the laws of the Japanese empire, were firmly established for the future.

I briefly reported to the Commandant of Okotzk all that had taken place, and requested that he would furnish me with an official letter from the Governor of Irkutzk to the Bunyo of Matsmai, adding, that I was myself ready to proceed to Okotzk to obtain this letter, and that Tachatay-Kachi had undertaken to deliver it personally to the Bunyo. We were to land Kachi at Kunashier, whither he proposed to transmit decisive answers and information respecting our comrades. Such was the plan we laid down for our future expedition.

Kachi continued tranquil and in good health until the middle of winter, when the death of two of his attendants greatly afflicted him. He then became melancholy and peevish; he constantly complained of indisposition, and asserted, that he had the scurvy in his feet, of which, he told the surgeon, he was certain he would die. Our surgeon was, however, well aware, that his real disorder was *nostalgia*, or an anxiety for home. He feared that he would be detained in Okotzk, whither I intended to take him, and he finally disclosed this apprehension to me. As the whole success of our plan depended upon his safe return to his country,

I immediately determined to convey him direct to Japan, without waiting for an answer from Irkutsk. When I informed him of this resolution, he called for his two remaining seamen, and communicated the joyful intelligence to them. He then requested that I would allow him a few moments privacy with his two attendants. I withdrew into the next room, believing that they wished to pray without any witness being present ; but he soon came to me in his state dress, with his sabre by his side, and his two attendants behind him, and made a speech strongly expressive of his gratitude. I was surprised and moved, and again vowed to him the fulfilment of my promise.

In April, when we began to prepare for our voyage, I received from the Governor of Irkutsk orders, as Naval Commander at Kamtschatka, to carry into execution our new plan, which now had received the sanction of superior authority, and, in case I should again sail for the Japanese coast, to leave Lieutenant Rudakoff as my substitute, in the command of the station. In consequence of these orders, I took Lieutenant Filatoff, who had commanded the *Sotik* brig, on board of the *Diana*, to supply the place of Lieutenant Rudakoff. The *Sotik*, which had been separated from the *Diana* in the storm off Kunashier, in the preceding autumn, was afterwards wrecked on the coast of Kamtschatka, but the crew and part of the stores were saved by the activity of Lieutenant Filatoff.

On the 6th of May we cut through the ice, and got the *Diana* into the roads in the Bay of Avatscha, whence we sailed on the 23d of May. After a favourable voyage of twenty days, we cast anchor in the Bay of Deceit, at about the same distance from the Japanese fortifications as on the former year. In pursuance of the advice of Takatay-Kachi, his two sailors were desired to prepare themselves for going on shore. The buildings were, as formerly, concealed by striped cotton cloth. No guns were fired, but not a living being was to be seen along the whole of the coast. Before their departure the two Japanese sailors came into the cabin to thank me, and to receive the message which their Natschalnik wished to send to the Natchalnik of the Island. I took this opportunity of asking Tachatay-Kachi, whether he had commissioned his sailors to bring back circumstantial information respecting my countrymen, and whether he pledged himself for their return. He answered in the negative, I was startled at his refusal.—“ You are surprised,” said he, “ because you do not know our laws”—“ I do not, indeed, know them all,” I replied ; “ but since it is so, (turning to the Japanese sailors,) tell the Governor of Kunashier from me, that if he prevents you from returning, and permits me to receive no information, I will carry your Natschalnik back to Okotzk, where some ships of war will this very year be fitted out, and armed men put on board of them, to demand the

liberation of the Russian prisoners. I will wait only three days for his answer."

At these words Takatay-Kachi changed countenance, but said, with much calmness,—“Commander of the Imperial Ship” (he always addressed me thus on important occasions) “thou counselest rashly. Thy orders to the Governor of Kunashier seem to contain much, but, according to our laws, they contain little. In vain dost thou threaten to carry me to Okotzk. My men may be detained on shore; but neither two nor yet two thousand sailors can answer for me. Wherefore, I give thee previous notice, that it will not be in thy power to take me to Okotzk :—but of that, hereafter. But, tell me, whether it be under these conditions only that my sailors are to be sent on shore?”

“Yes,” said I; “as Commander of a ship of war I cannot, under these circumstances, act otherwise.”

“Well,” replied he; “allow me to give to my sailors my last and most urgent instructions as to what they must communicate from me to the Governor of Kunashier, for now I will neither send the promised letter, nor any other written document.”

After this conversation, during which he sat according to the Japanese custom, with his legs under him, he rose up, and addressed me very earnestly in the following terms :—“Thou knowest enough of Japanese to understand all that I may

say, in plain and simple words, to my sailors. I would not wish that thou shouldst have any ground to suspect me of hatching base designs." He then sat down again, when his sailors approached him on their knees, and, hanging down their heads, listened with deep attention to his words. He then reminded them, circumstantially, of the day on which they were carried on board of the *Diana*; of the manner in which they had been treated on board the ship and in Kamtschatka; of their having inhabited the same house with me, and being carefully provided for; of the death of their two countrymen and the Kurile, notwithstanding all the attention bestowed on them by the Russian physician; and, finally, that the ship had hastily returned to Japan on account of his health. All this he directed them faithfully to relate, and concluded with the warmest commendations of me, and earnest expressions of gratitude for the care which I had taken of him at sea and on land. He then sunk into a deep silence and prayed. Hereupon, he delivered to the sailor whom he most esteemed, his picture, to be conveyed to his wife; and his large sabre, which he called his *paternal sword*, to be presented to his only son and heir. After the whole of this solemn ceremony was finished, he stood up, and with a frank and, indeed, a very cheerful expression of countenance, asked me for some brandy to treat his sailors at parting. He drank with them, and



accompanied them on deck without giving them any further charge.—We then landed them, and they proceeded, without interruption, towards the fortress.

All that passed between Kachi and the sailors who were separated from him, together with the significant words—"It will not be in thy power to take me to Okotzk," gave me much anxiety. The return of the sailors appeared to me very uncertain. I could retain their sick master as a hostage, but I could not prevent his rash speech from being realised. Whether I should put him ashore was a matter of difficult deliberation, and yet, all circumstances considered, that appeared to me the course likely to prove most beneficial to our imprisoned comrades. In case he should not return, I resolved to proceed immediately to the fortress. I knew enough of Japanese to make myself understood, and I thought if our companions were still alive, such a proceeding could not render their fate worse; while, in case they were dead, the whole affair, together with all my anxieties, would be speedily brought to a decision. I communicated my ideas to the senior of my officers, as it was necessary for the service to give him early information, in consequence of the execution of some duties remaining yet incomplete. As he concurred with me in opinion, I told Kachi, that he might go on shore as soon as he pleased, and that I would trust to his

honour for his return. If he did not come again it would cost me my life.

“ I understand,” answered he. “ Thou darest not return to Okotzk without a written testimonial of the fate of thy countrymen ; and, for my part, the slightest stain on my honour will be at the expense of my life. I thank thee for the confidence placed in me ; I had before resolved not to go on shore on the same day with my sailors ; that would not become me, according to our customs ; but now, since thou hast no objection, I will go ashore early to-morrow.”

“ I will convey you thither myself,” answered I. “ Then,” he exclaimed, with transport, “ we are friends again ! I will now tell thee what I meant by sending away my portrait and my *paternal sword*. But I must first confess, with that candour which I have invariably observed towards thee for the space of three hundred days, that I was much offended by thy message to the Governor of Kunashier. The menace of sending ships of war here during the present year did not concern me, but on hearing thy threat to convey me to Okotzk, I believed that thou didst regard me to be as great an impostor as Gorodsee (Leonsaimo)—I could, indeed, scarcely persuade myself that thy lips had uttered such an injury to my honour. For three hundred days thou hadst never spoken an unkind word to me ; whilst I, owing to my fiery temperament, had frequently yielded to fits of passion,

without any cause. But, on this important occasion, anger overcame thy reason, and, in a moment, didst thou dispose me to become a criminal and a suicide. That a man of my rank should remain a prisoner in a foreign country, is repugnant to our national honour: yet thou wouldst reduce me to that condition. I willingly accompanied thee to Kamtschatka; and my government was informed of that circumstance; for I sent a message to Kunashier explaining thy reasons for visiting my ship. The sailors alone were compelled to accompany thee against their inclination. Thou wert the strongest party; but, though my person was in thy power, my life was not at thy disposal. I will now disclose to thee my secret design—I had resolved to commit suicide in case thy purpose remained unchanged! I therefore cut the central tuft of hair from the crown of my head, (he shewed me the bald part from which the hair had been removed) and laid it in the box which contained the portrait. This, according to our Japanese customs, signifies that he who sends his hair in this manner to his friends has died an honourable death; that is to say, has ript open his bowels. His hair is then buried, with all the ceremonies which would be observed at the interment of his body. Thou callest me friend, and therefore I conceal nothing from thee. So great was my irritation that I would have killed both thee and the senior officer, for the mere satisfaction of after-

wards communicating what I had done to thy ship's crew."

What a strange sense of honour according to European ideas! But the Japanese consider such conduct most magnanimous. The memory of the hero is preserved with respect, and the honour of the deed descends to his posterity. If, on the contrary, he should fail to act in this manner, his children are banished from the place of their birth. Yet I had lived in the same cabin with a man possessing these terrible ideas; and had slept tranquilly near him, in the confidence of perfect security. While shocked by the discovery of the danger from which I had escaped, I could not help asking him why he would have so limited his vengeance, as it was in his power, by setting fire to the magazine, to destroy us all. "No," said he, "what bravery would there have been in that? A coward alone would satiate his revenge in such a manner. Dost thou imagine that I would have killed thee in thy sleep, while I honoured thee as a valiant Natschalnik? No! I would have gone more openly to work."

Extraordinary man! After all I could not avoid esteeming him more highly than before.

The next day I embarked, with my reconciled friend, for the shore. On approaching it, we saw two Japanese coming out of the fortress, and, to our great joy, we recognized them to be Tachatay-Kachi's sailors. We landed, and waited for them

beside the stream opposite to which our ship lay. They informed us that the Governor of Kunashier had received them kindly, and had granted my request respecting the supply of water, on condition that I should not allow my men to land on that side of the rivu'et nearest the fortress. They added, that three officers of distinction had come, on our account, to Kunashier, and on mentioning their names, Tachatay-Kachi recognized the two eldest as his intimate friends. Further than this, the sailors knew nothing, except that the Governor had expressed a desire to speak with their master as soon as possible. He noticed some trifles which I had given them and would not permit them to retain any thing. They accordingly brought back every article, even pins and needles, all tied up in a parcel. This, I thought, indicated no very friendly disposition, but Kachi removed my apprehensions by informing me that the Japanese laws prohibited his countrymen from receiving presents.

One of the sailors delivered me a box full of papers which had been sent by the Governor of Matsmai. I eagerly proceeded to open it, in the expectation of finding letters from our comrades ; but Tachatay-Kachi prevented me. "Repress your curiosity," said he, "that box probably contains important papers from our government to yours." He then took it from me, observed his usual demonstrations of respect, and having raised the box three times above his head, said : "All

is favorable to us ! I say to *us*, for I now feel myself half a Russian. All will be well if you permit me to convey the box back to the Governor. To-morrow morning I will not fail to restore it to you. Such are the forms which the customs of our country render necessary.”\*

I hesitated for a few moments ; but suddenly recollecting myself, and without manifesting the slightest distrust, I declared that I would follow his advice. We parted. I tore one of my handkerchiefs through the middle, and gave him one of the pieces, saying: “ I will regard, as a friend, whoever brings back this half of my handkerchief within two or three days at furthest.” He replied, in a firm tone of voice, that death alone should prevent him from fulfilling that duty. Next morning he would return on board the ship ; in the meantime, he wished me to allow his seamen to accompany him. To this I readily acceded, went on board, and made the ship be kept ready for action during the night.

On the following day our sentinels informed me that they had observed two men quit the garrison, and that one of them carried something white in his hand which he was constantly waving about. This proved to be Kachi. I immediately

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\* Probably because it would have been considered, by the Japanese, a want of respect, to suffer a common sailor to present the box to the commander of a ship of war.

sent out the boat, and he soon arrived, accompanied by one of his sailors. To our great joy, he informed us that, according to letters from Matsmai, all our comrades were well, except the pilot who had been so dangerously ill that he had tasted nothing for the space of ten days, and, moreover, refused to follow the prescriptions of the Japanese physicians. The latest account, however, stated that he had, in some measure, recovered. He then delivered to me in the cabin, the official paper which had been in the before-mentioned box and which was a letter from the Bunyo of Matsmai to the Commandant of Kunashier, written in the Japanese language, with a Russian translation. I gave Kachi a note, acknowledging the receipt of this paper, to be taken back with him to Kunashier, and by his advice I also declared my readiness to sail straight to Chakodade, on condition that two Japanese should be allowed to accompany me, by whose means I might be enabled to commence regular communications. Kachi undertook to explain to the Commandant the contents of this letter, and in the evening we put him ashore.

Kachi returned next day, notwithstanding the rainy state of the weather, and stated that, though the Governor considered my proposal extremely reasonable, yet he was not authorized to act on his own opinion in such a case. He had, therefore, sent an express to Matsmai with my last letter and the one which I had written when I first arrived at

Kunashier. "There are Russian interpreters in Matsmai," said Kachi. He assured me that the post would return in twenty days. Taking into consideration all these favourable circumstances, I resolved to wait for the answer of the Bunyo of Matsmai. I wished to employ the intermediate time in drawing up a correct survey of the Bay of Deceit. For this purpose, I requested that the Commandant of Kunashier would permit the boats to sail about in various directions. He, however, sent me a very polite answer, stating that his instructions obliged him to decline granting this permission, we could, therefore, only land at the rivulet already mentioned, and on the condition before stated. The very civil terms in which this answer was couched, afforded us at least some consolation. In the meanwhile, Kachi, on every third day, brought us information of all that took place. In his name, his sailors frequently brought us presents of fish, which I distributed in equal portions among the crew. He gave strict orders that they should receive no payment in return for these presents, and always expressed his regret that the unproductive state of the fishery prevented him from being more liberal in his gifts. Indeed we did not, during the whole time, receive more than seventeen fish.

Whenever Kachi came on board our ship the day was always observed as a holyday. His first visit took place on the 14th of July. In the course



of our confidential conversation, I observed that I had read the letter from Matsmai several times over, and that I was astonished to find that it contained no mention of the very important circumstances through which he had become our prisoner. At first, he himself seemed surprised at this, and frequently made use of the emphatic Japanese exclamation : “ *Fissingi!* ” But after a little reflection, he said : “ No ! it is easily accounted for ! According to our laws, you were justified in proceeding to hostilities, after having been informed that your countrymen were dead. Had you even put me and all my crew to the sword, our government, under the present circumstances, when inclined to friendship, would still have taken no notice of the event. I have ascertained that Gorodsee did not deceive you, but that the answer which he delivered to you was such as he really received from the Commandant who was greatly irritated by the attack of Chwostoff. He burned with desire to measure his strength with yours, and anxiously awaited the moment when you should attack the fortress. The whole garrison, consisting of about three hundred Japanese, had sworn to perish sword in hand. They, therefore, according to the custom of war, prepared for their funerals while living ; for every man cut the tuft of hair from the crown of his head, and these locks were all deposited in one box, each wrapt in a separate piece of paper, on

which was written the name of the individual to whom it belonged. On your first hostile movement, this box was to be forwarded to Matsmai. As I know your spirit, I am well aware that a horrible carnage would have ensued. The superiority of your artillery might have ensured you the victory, but it would have been only of short duration. Few of your people could have escaped death, for the Japanese had learnt, from the conduct of Chwostoff's crew, that your countrymen are passionately fond of strong liquors, and they were, therefore, prepared to poison all the spirits!"

He also stated, that the Commandant regretted he could not supply us with fresh provisions, but that, though the fishing season had not yet commenced, boats had been sent out for the purpose of catching fish. Kachi himself promised to bring us some on the first draught, and on our requesting that he would not give himself so much trouble, he replied: "It cannot be too much! the first fruits of our labours should always be presented to our friends." We landed him again at the rivulet, whence he had to walk at least the distance of two wersts to the fortress.

Bad weather prevented him from visiting us next day. On the 16th, however, he came so early that our sentinels did not perceive him until he had reached the rivulet, and was waiting for our boat. I was vexed at this accident, and on his arrival I made an apology; observing that we could

not have expected him to sacrifice his rest in such a way. He frankly acknowledged that he had felt offended at the delay. "From the moment I quitted the garrison," said he, "I continued to wave the white handkerchief; and had the boat been a few moments longer of arriving, I should certainly have returned." I thought it proper to reprimand the sentinels in the presence of this punctilious old man. "You seem surprised," added he, "at my early visit. The Governor endeavoured to dissuade me from coming; but it is impossible to break one's word. Yesterday I spent a miserable day. I waited for the return of the fishermen, until it was too late to come to you. I could not enjoy a moment's sleep in consequence of not having fulfilled my promise. At break of day I arose; and having drunk a cup of tea, hastened hither with all the fish which were caught yesterday. They are, as you see, but fourteen in number. I shall to-day enjoy the satisfaction of partaking of the first fresh fish, in company with you; for I have as yet eat none on shore." What cordiality! I did not attempt to thank him, but merely said, "You are my friend, and friends understand each other."

Our dinner was served up before the usual hour, as Kachi frequently mentioned the keenness of his appetite. The fish, cooked with common Japanese grits, was our first and last dish. Kachi eat an uncommonly hearty dinner; and I thought

I had never tasted fish of finer flavour, for the meal was seasoned by friendship. After dinner we drank to the health of the worthy Kachi, and in the evening we put him on shore.

On the 18th he entered again into a friendly conversation; in the course of which he complained of the tedious life he lived on shore, and of the conduct of the person with whom he had resided, and who was the agent of the merchants by whom the island was farmed. He had differed with this man, and had therefore, with the Governor's consent, procured thirty Kuriles and timber for fitting up a wooden house; in which, he said with an air of triumph, he could now live quietly with his two sailors. He spoke with great contempt of this agent and of the company of merchants; and finally applied to them the pithy Japanese proverb—"Proud, but penniless."

On the 20th I was informed that the sentinels had again observed our *Taisho*: for by this title Kachi was known among the sailors. In Japanese *Taisho* signifies commander. He used the word when he first addressed me, and I returned the compliment; and since that time the seamen had constantly called him the *Taisho*. I conjectured that the languor he experienced on shore had induced him to pay us this visit, before the stipulated term: I therefore shewed no suspicion when he came on board, but conducted him straight to the cabin. He sat down beside me, and, without

any remarkable expression of countenance, said, "This unsealed letter, written, as appears, in Russian, has this moment arrived from Matsmai." Lieutenant Filatoff, who was present, cast a look at the superscription, and in ecstasy exclaimed "It is the handwriting of our **WASSILI MICHAILOVITSCH!**" My joy knew no bounds: I snatched the letter from the hand of my friend Kachi, recognised Golownin's writing, and imagined, from the size of the paper, that it contained an account of the events of his captivity; but when I unfolded the letter I found merely the following lines:—

"We are all, both officers and seamen, and the Kurile Alexei, alive, and reside in Matsmai.

May 10, 1813.

"**WASSILI GOLOWNIN,**

"**FEDOR MOOR.**"

I took these gratifying lines, by which every doubt of the existence of our countrymen was removed, and read them on deck to the crew. Many of the men, who knew the writing of their adored captain, perused the letter themselves, and greeted Tachatay-Kachi with cheers. Grog was distributed to the whole ship's company, that they might drink to the health of their officers and friends, for whom they had all been willing, in the preceding year, to sacrifice their lives on this coast.

On this occasion the *Taisho* informed me of a happy incident which had occurred to him. He had received a letter from his son, at Chakodade, which the Governor had conveyed to him, in the following singular manner :—According to the Japanese laws a person immediately returned from a foreign country is allowed no correspondence or intercourse with others. The Governor therefore ordered him to be called, as if merely for the purpose of giving him Captain Golownin's letter to take on board the *Diana*. He said not a word, however, of any letter from Kachi's son, but, while walking up and down the room, he threw it towards him, as if it had been a piece of useless paper taken out of his pocket with the other letter, and then turned his back to give time for its being picked up. Kachi perfectly well understood what he meant, and, without any embarrassment, took up the letter, and put it in his pocket.

His son informed him, that his commercial business had been carried on in the most advantageous manner. The number of his ships were increased by some which had just been launched. His mother and the beloved wife of Kachi, for whose lives he had entertained fears, while in Kamtschatka, were both in good health ; but the latter had, in her grief, made a vow to go on a pilgrimage through the whole of Japan, and visit the most celebrated shrines ; and she was still engaged in that act of devotion. A rich man, his

bosom friend, had, on learning Kachi's fate, divided his property among the poor, and taken up his residence in the mountains as a hermit. What an example! among a people whom the Europeans regard as crafty, base, vengeful, and incapable of the delicate feelings of friendship! There are, indeed, in Japan, MEN who deserve that name in the highest sense of the word, and a national virtue which would not be unworthy of our imitation! "How rich you are," said I to Kachi, "in having such a friend!"—"I am, indeed, rich for I have two such friends."—"What! two friends!" exclaimed I, "what a number." This idea seemed to please him mightily.

He was farther informed, that his friends had, for several days, been preparing festivals in different temples in order to be ready to celebrate his return. He had been the subject of conversation throughout all Japan, and the general opinion was that God would preserve him in Russia and infallibly restore him to his country, and that happy consequences for Japan would arise out of his voyage. His son had embraced this opinion with so much confidence that he had, in due time, prepared this letter to be sent to Kunashier for the consolation of his father on his return thither, which he had a perfect conviction would soon take place.

This day was one of the most joyful of my life! When Tachatay-Kachi left us, he intimated a wish that the sailors might again salute him with

cheers; this was most heartily complied with by the whole ship's company.

On the 26th he came on board with the information that the post had arrived from Matsmai, and that the first Assessor or Counsellor of the Bunyo of Matsmai, who was to communicate the answer to my letter, had embarked on board an imperial Japanese ship. The Kurile, Alexei, and one of our Russian prisoners, were to accompany this mission. We all supposed that the Russian must be an officer, but our friend understood that he was one of the sailors.

On reference to the time at which the Japanese ship had sailed from Matsmai, it appeared probable that she would arrive on this or the following day. In fact, in a few hours after, we saw a vessel standing into the bay. Tachatay-Kachi knew her to be an imperial ship by a red mark in the form of a globe on her sails. The sides were covered with red stripes, and the gangway was hung round with striped cloth. Three flags, each of variegated colours, waved on the stern. There were planted also, on the same part of the ship, four long pikes, from which floated streamers, each black at the extremity. The number of these pikes indicates the rank of the person on whose account they are fixed up. On the approach of the vessel, Baidares, bearing flags, left the shore and proceeded out to meet her. Each supplied a particular boat, destined for towing, and they al-



together towed the ship towards the fortress. It was now dark, and we could not perceive what preparations were made on shore for the reception of the deputy of the Bunyo ; but Kachi promised to return next day with an account of all that occurred.

Faithful to his appointment, we saw him in the morning coming down to the shore in company with another man. Kachi was instantly recognized by the white handkerchief which he always waved at the end of his sabre, and with respect to the other we did not remain long in uncertainty ; for as they advanced, our worthy little friend occasionally vanished from our view in consequence of falling behind his more bulky companion. We all exclaimed : “ That is one of our Russians.”

It is impossible for me to describe the moving scene which followed, when our sailors beheld their comrade returned from captivity. A part of the crew were filling their water-casks at the rivulet. When the prisoner saw Russians on the other side of the stream, and probably recognised among them some of his old messmates, he made but one step to its banks, leaving Kachi at least nine paces behind him. Surprise and joy made our sailors forget that they were prohibited from crossing the rivulet. They waded through it, and embraced the welcome visitor in the most affectionate manner. The officer, who had the command of the party on

shore, informed me, that, at first, he did not know the stranger, he was so altered by the sufferings he had undergone. At last, all the men cried out with one voice, *Simanoff!* for that was his name. He then threw off his hat, knelt down, and could not utter a word, but the tears rolled fast down his cheeks. This affecting spectacle was renewed when he came on board the ship—I saluted him first, and asked whether our friends in Matsmai were well?—"God be praised," he replied, "they are in life, though not all quite well; Mr. Chlebuikoff, in particular, is dangerously ill!" I repressed my desire to ask further questions, as I observed the great impatience with which the seamen were waiting to embrace him.

I went down to the cabin with Kachi, who informed me, that the first officer of the *Bunyo* of Matsmai, named Takahassy-Sampey, who had just arrived, had commissioned him to communicate several circumstances to me. He took out his pocket-book, and read as follows:—

‘ Takahassy-Sampey testifies his respect to the  
 “ Commandant of Kamtschatka, and informs him,  
 “ that in consequence of the letter written to Mats-  
 “ mai, the BUNYO-SAMA (the chief Governor) has  
 “ sent him to Kunashier, in order to pay that re-  
 “ spect which is due to a man of so high a rank,  
 “ and to communicate certain preliminary points  
 “ regarding the liberation of all Russians. Taka-  
 “ hassy-Sampey regrets exceedingly, that the laws

“ of Japan do not permit him to confer personally  
“ with the Commandant. He sensibly feels for the  
“ hardships which the officers and crew of the  
“ Russian ship have undergone in their repeated  
“ voyages to Kunashier, laments the hostilities  
“ which have occurred, and has, with the permis-  
“ sion of the OBUNYO of Matsmai, brought one of  
“ the Russian prisoners with him. This prisoner  
“ will be permitted to go on board the Russian ship  
“ every day, to converse with his countrymen, on  
“ condition that he always return at night to the  
“ fortress.—Takahassy-Sampey requests, that the  
“ Commandant of Kamtschatka will place full con-  
“ fidence in Takatay-Kachi, who has been chosen  
“ for the negotiation, and who has stated, that he  
“ can converse freely with the Commandant.”

The official communication of the preliminary points was in the following terms :—

“ 1. There must be conveyed to the Japanese Government a document, signed and sealed by two Russian Commanders of Districts, certifying, in conformity with the official papers already transmitted, that Chwostoff, without the consent or knowledge of the Russian Government, had unlawfully committed depredations on the islands of the Hairy Kuriles and on Sagaleen.

“ 2. It is known that Chwostoff disturbed the tranquillity of the inhabitants of our settlements, and presumed to carry away the millet, and other commodities, which belonged to private indivi-

duals, and, in general, whatever he found, to Okotzk. Among the property thus removed, was our ammunition of war, including armour, bows and arrows, muskets, and some cannon. With respect to the former description of articles, plundered by Chwostoff, the Japanese government is of opinion that they must now, in consequence of the lapse of time, be totally unfit for use; the latter, however, are not liable to spoil by keeping, and ought, therefore, to be restored, least they should hereafter be regarded as trophies taken from the Japanese in war. But though they cannot be decayed or injured by use, they may not, perhaps, be now in Okotzk. It is true they could be collected together from different places, but such a collection might, on account of the distance of such places, be now very difficult: the Japanese government, therefore, considering the urgency of the present circumstances, will be satisfied, if the Commandant of Okotzk certifies, that after the strictest investigation, no more of the plundered property, brought by Chwostoff from the Kurile Islands and Sagaleen, are to be found in that place.

[It will be remarked by the reader, that the Japanese contrived, with much ingenuity and politeness, to make it be clearly understood, that it was well known to them, through Leonsaimo, what had been done with Chwostoff's booty. Only the strict purport of the passage has been given in the translation, but the whole was very delicately expressed in Japanese.]

“ 3. Respecting the hostilities in the preceding year, to which the Commandant of Kamschatka has alluded in his letter, the Japanese Government, in consideration of the then existing circumstances, recognize such conduct on the part of the Commander of a Russian imperial ship, as justifiable according to their laws, and have, therefore, passed it over in silence in their official note. But that TACHATAY-KACHI, the Commander of a Japanese ship, had been carried to Kamtschatka against his inclination, is not consistent with the information of the Japanese Government, as the letter received at the time from the FEAMOTSH TACHATAY-KACHI stated, that he had, according to his own wish, proceeded to that place, and that only four of his sailors had been taken by force.

“ 4. In order that the negotiations may be brought to a pacific and satisfactory conclusion, TAKAHASSY-SAMPEI hopes, that the Russian ship of war will, in the present year, return with the required certificate from Okotzk to Chakodade, where the undersigned, with the Commander COOD-SIMOTO-CHIOGORO, will be in waiting for the Commandant of Kamtschatka, to receive from him the said certificate, and, according to the lawful customs of Japan, personally to advise and jointly co-operate with him, in effecting the promised liberation of the Russian prisoners: in the mean time, he adds herewith the wish, that the Russian ship may, after a favourable voyage, speedily return to Chakodade.”

Thus ended Kachi's commission; and I, full of impatience to speak with Simanoff, desired him to be called into a separate cabin. Finding himself alone with me, he ripped up the seam of his jacket, and drew out a sheet of fine Japanese paper, folded up in a singular form. The paper was entirely filled with writing. "This," said he, "is a letter to you from Wassili Michailovitch. I have succeeded in concealing it from the notice of the suspicious Japanese. It contains an account of our sufferings, and some good advice respecting the mode in which you are to proceed." I eagerly took the letter, which appeared to come to me by miracle. I several times glanced my eyes over it; but, partly, through the dread that it might contain some unwelcome news, and partly through joy at the unexpected manner in which it had reached me, I was so agitated that I could not distinguish one word from another. Within the letter I observed two slips of paper, which contained some lines, very closely written by Mr. Chlebnikoff. I recovered myself, and to my indescribable joy, read that our unhappy friends still cherished some hope of returning to their native country. Captain Golownin's letter was as follows:—

"Dearest Friend,

"At length the Japanese seem to be convinced  
 "of the truth of our declarations, respecting the  
 "pacific intentions of Russia, and the unauthorized

“ conduct of Chwostoff; but they require a formal  
“ attestation thereof from some Natschalnik of our  
“ Government, to which the imperial seal must be  
“ affixed. It is to be hoped, that when fully per-  
“ suaded of the friendly intentions of Russia, they  
“ will enter into commercial relations with us; for  
“ they seem already aware of the knavery of the  
“ Dutch. We have informed them of the letter  
“ which fell into the hands of the English, in which  
“ the Dutch interpreters of Nangasaky boasted  
“ of having produced a decided rupture between  
“ Resanoff and the Japanese. Nevertheless, when  
“ you have any intercourse with them, be extremely  
“ cautious, carry on your conferences only in  
“ boats, and always keep at the distance of a gun-  
“ shot from the shore. Be not offended, however,  
“ at the tardiness of their proceedings. We have  
“ known them to deliberate for months on an un-  
“ important affair, which in Europe would have  
“ been decided in a day or two. In general, I  
“ would recommend, as the four principal requi-  
“ sites to be observed in treating with them, pru-  
“ dence, patience, civility, and candour. On your  
“ discretion depends, not merely our liberation,  
“ but the interests of our country. May our pre-  
“ sent misfortune be the means of restoring to  
“ Russia those advantages, which she has lost  
“ through the misconduct of one individual!—but  
“ the sailor who is the bearer of this, will acquaint  
“ you more circumstantially with my opinion on

“ these subjects. It is not convenient to load him  
 “ with papers, and therefore I do not myself write  
 “ to the Minister.

“ Where the honor of my sovereign and the in-  
 “ terest of my country are concerned, I do not set  
 “ the value of a copeck on my life ; do not, there-  
 “ fore, take my safety into consideration. Be it  
 “ now, or ten or twenty years hence, sooner or later,  
 “ we must all pay the debt of nature. It is immate-  
 “ rial to me whether I die in battle or by the hand  
 “ of treachery—whether I perish amidst the waves  
 “ of the sea, or yield my last breath on a bed of  
 “ down.—Death is always Death, though he may  
 “ present himself under a variety of forms. I  
 “ beg, my dearest friend, that you will write, in  
 “ my stead, to my brother and my friends. Pro-  
 “ vidence may have ordained that I shall see them  
 “ again, and perhaps not. In the later case, tell  
 “ them not to be distressed on account of my fate,  
 “ and that I wish them health and every happiness.  
 “ I entreat you, in the name of Heaven, to suffer  
 “ no one to write to me or to send any thing  
 “ which may occasion me to be tormented by  
 “ translations and questions : but state your own  
 “ determination in a few lines. I request that you  
 “ will give the sailor who is the bearer of this  
 “ five hundred rubles from my effects.\* Present

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\* Captain Golownin supposed that Simanoff was completely released by the Japanese, and would return with us to Russia.



“ my sincere respects to our comrades, the officers  
“ of the *Diana*, and remember me to all the sea-  
“ men. With the deepest gratitude, I return you  
“ thanks for the many dangers you have en-  
“ countered for the sake of obtaining our freedom.  
“ Adieu, dear friend! and all dear friends, Adieu!  
“ This letter is probably the last you will ever re-  
“ ceive from me! May you enjoy health, con-  
“ tent and happiness! April 10th, 1813. In the  
“ city of Matsmai, in Japanese imprisonment.

“ Your most faithful,

“ WASSILI GOLOWNIN.”

In this letter, Captain Golownin warned me against relying too confidently on the apparent sincerity of the Japanese, and hinted that I might obtain, through the bearer, his advice respecting the conduct I should adopt in case affairs took an unfavourable turn. But Simanoff was so overjoyed at the liberty he had obtained, and the opportunity of mixing with his shipmates, that he behaved throughout like one that had lost his wits. Whenever I sought to be made acquainted with his instructions, he constantly replied: “ Why do you question me, Sir? The letter contains all the information you can stand in need of.” He frequently wept like a child and exclaimed: “ I alone have, for a moment, been set at liberty; but six of our countrymen are still lingering in confinement. I fear that, if I do not return

speedily, they will be ill-treated by the Japanese.” —So much for our kind-hearted, but stupid messenger.

I relied, however, on Kachi's honesty as on a rock, and regarded all further precaution as superfluous. Golownin's letter served merely, more completely, to inform us of what was required by the Japanese government, and this was, at all events, highly important.

Having satisfied our curiosity concerning the situation of our comrades, by a thousand various questions, we again put our friends Kachi and Simanoff ashore. I requested that Kachi would inform Takahassy-Sampey that, should the wind prove favourable, I intended to set sail for Okotzk on the following day, and that I would, without fail, return to Chakodade in the present year, provided with all the documents he required; I, moreover, begged that he would offer him our sincere thanks for the friendly dispositions he had manifested, and particularly for permitting us to have an interview with our countryman.

Finally, on the 29th of July, we took farewell of Tachatay-Kachi. On this occasion, he brought three hundred fish on board for the sailors. I was somewhat mortified at his having constantly refused to accept of any present, except a little sugar, tea, and French brandy; he even proposed that his clothes and other articles of property which he had on board the *Diana*, and which were apparently

of considerable value, should remain in my custody, observing: "That we should soon meet again in Chakodade." "There," said he, "I can, without any obstruction, receive the tokens of your friendship, but here it would be extremely troublesome to me to be made accountable, according to our laws, for every trifle."—"At least," said I, "take back your own property, you know the dangers to which a sea life is every moment exposed."—"How!" exclaimed he, "can you apprehend danger after the evident protection of Heaven which you have experienced? ZEESEI, ZEESEI, TAISHO! (that is to say: timid, timid commander!) That you have sufficient time before you for accomplishing a safe voyage, a wise man like you who knows how to observe the heavens (alluding to astronomical observations) cannot deny. I do not like your look; I see that you are concerned about my trifles, though it was my intention to request permission to distribute them among your seamen; but I perceive your uneasiness of mind, which probably proceeds from your doubt of the business being finally adjusted this year; I must, consequently, conclude that your sailors, several of whom still distrust me, would imagine that I had given them presents under the conviction that I should never see them more. I, therefore, beg that the trifles may remain in your keeping until you return to Chakodade. TEN TAISHO!"—*Ten* signifies: place confidence in God!

The penetrating and grateful Tachatay-Kachi was, indeed, not wrong in his conjecture. But the reader may himself judge how great was our cause for uneasiness. As soon as he departed we weighed anchor, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, with the intention of putting to sea : but the wind soon became fair, and after a pleasant voyage of fifteen days, we again cast anchor in Okotzk harbour.

I immediately addressed a report to the Commandant of Okotzk, containing an account of all that had taken place ; and he, in return, furnished me with the document required by the Japanese Government, together with a letter of friendly explanation from the Governor of Irkutsk to the Bunyo of Matsmai, which supplied every thing necessary to be stated.

A Japanese, named *Kisseloff*, who had been sent from Irkutsk to serve as our interpreter, now came on board the *Diana*. We remained in Okotzk roads eighteen days, which time we employed in taking on board a supply of every thing we stood in need of, and in repairing the vessel, which had suffered considerable injury. On the 11th of August we were ready to sail, for the third time, to the coasts of Japan, with a full reliance on the assistance of Heaven in the attainment of our wished-for object. Before our departure we held solemn worship on board the vessel, and fired all our guns in honour of the Emperor. Our au-

gust monarch, though at that moment occupied with the important affairs of Europe, had not forgotten his few unfortunate subjects; but had ordered an expedition to be fitted out for the liberation of Golownin at this port, ten thousand wersts distant from his capital.

Among the visitors who this day came on board the *Diana* were the Commandant of the Harbour, Minitzky, and his amiable wife, Eugenia Nikolanona. The warm wishes which this lady entertained for our success, induced her to venture on those stormy roads, where, at the same season in the preceding year, her husband had nearly lost his life. She was the only Russian lady who honoured the *Diana* with a visit, and she is therefore entitled to the sincere thanks which I, together with the rest of the officers, take this opportunity of presenting to her. During the worship the motion of the ship was so violent that all our guests from the shore, with the exception of this youthful heroine, were seized with sickness. She devoutly joined us in prayer for the liberation of our comrades.

Owing to adverse southerly winds which prevailed along the Peninsula of Sagaleen, twenty days elapsed before we reached the coast of Matsmai. On the 10th of September we entered Vulcan Bay, in which is situated the safe harbour of Edomo, whither I had resolved to repair. As we approached the promontory we could plainly

discern the buildings and even the inhabitants of the place. With six hours of favourable wind we calculated on reaching the harbour ; but there is no certainty at sea. During the night the wind became more adverse than before, and a storm at length arose, which, on the following morning, drove us from the coast. It was at the period of the equinox when, in this part of the world, violent storms prevail even more frequently than elsewhere. It appeared now doubtful whether it would be possible to reach the Japanese coasts this autumn. In that case I determined, instead of returning to Kamtschatka, which, owing to the long winter, would have been attended with great loss of time, to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, lie there three months, and return by the month of April, when the navigation on the northern coasts of Japan would again be open. I communicated this plan to the rest of the officers, though I did not wish to carry it into effect until the 1st of October. In furtherance of the plan, it was necessary to shorten the allowance of water, a regulation to which the crew submitted without a murmur ; but to our great joy, the storm abated on the 12th day, and, as is usual with seamen, mild and favourable breezes soon made us forget all our past sufferings.

One melancholy circumstance, however, occurred to interrupt our happiness. We had the misfortune to lose one of our bravest and most experienced sailors. This poor man met with a

severe accident among the rigging, and on being brought down, all surgical aid proved ineffectual. At such a moment it would, perhaps, have been of advantage if our surgeon could have gone aloft; but, unfortunately, he had hitherto served only in the army and was unaccustomed to climbing the shrouds, though he was, in other respects, an extremely active and courageous man. He was not the same surgeon whom we had brought with us from Cronstadt; that officer was, on account of ill health, under the necessity of returning to Petersburg.

In our situation we felt, with double severity, the loss of this valuable seaman. As we committed his body to the waves with due religious solemnity, the whole crew melted into tears—a spontaneous tribute paid to his six year's faithful service! and what a service! The reader must be aware that our path was not strewn with roses. Few, who have not been in a similar situation, can conceive how close the knot of friendship is drawn when it unites together a little band who have, for a long period, been separated from their friends and relatives.

We entered Vulcano Bay on the 22nd, and, at nine in the morning, three baidars were observed steering towards our vessel. I dispatched Lieutenant Filatoff to meet them, and he soon conducted them alongside. There were eighteen Japanese on board these baidars, who, at our invitation, boldly ascended the deck of the *Diana*.

We enquired where we could find a harbour, and they informed us that there was one called *SANGARO*, about two wersts distant, in a southerly direction, near the promontory which had about twenty fathoms depth of water. We soon found that they had come on board merely from curiosity to see the foreign ship. As we wished to put into *Edomo*, which had been visited by Captain Broughton in 1796, we requested them to conduct us to that port; but they declined to do so, probably because they dared not without permission, and left us. From Captain Broughton's description, we were, however, pretty certain of being able to enter the harbour without their assistance, and we accordingly stood into it with an easterly wind. At noon, we discovered a tolerably large town, and on the heights batteries which were overhung with cloth. A baidare was sent out to meet us, on board of which were thirteen hairy kuriles, whom the Japanese call *Ainos*. These kuriles were accompanied by a native of Japan, named *Leso*, one of those who had been in Kamtschatka with Tachatay-kachi, and whom we had put ashore on our return to Kunashier. He informed me that, in consequence of the agreement concluded at Kunashier, he had been sent by the Bunyo of Matsmai, as a pilot, to conduct us to the harbour of Chakodade. He enquired whether we wanted any thing, as the authorities of that place had been directed to furnish us with



whatever we might require. We stood in need of nothing except fresh water, and I availed myself of the opportunity to send on shore fifty empty casks; we then cast anchor in eleven fathoms, with a muddy bottom.

On the following day, the same baidare, manned by the same Kuriles, brought back our casks filled with fresh water from Edomo, and likewise some fresh fish and radishes as presents from the Governor. We returned him our thanks, and again sent twenty empty casks, which were brought back in the evening. We took advantage of the fine weather to repair our rigging, which had been considerably damaged during the storm, and every thing was soon restored to a state of good order. For several days the Japanese continued to fill our casks, and to send presents of fresh fish and vegetables in such abundance as enabled us to deal out plentiful supplies to the crew; but, in spite of all our persuasions, they obstinately refused to accept of any return.

On the morning of the 26th the baidare brought me a letter from Captain Golownin, written in Chakodade. He informed me that when the *Diana* should come within sight of the harbour a white flag would be displayed on the hill; and that Tachatay-Kachi would be sent out to us: as, however, the latter could not depart without an order from the Bunyo of Matsmai, he advised us, in the meanwhile, to trust to the sailor Leso, who

was a skilful pilot. This letter was a reply to one which I had addressed to the Japanese authorities, on our first arrival at Edomo, and in which I expressed my doubts of the sincerity of the Japanese, since they sent a common sailor to meet us, instead of dispatching Tachatay-Kachi or some individual of rank. Now, however, I was very willing to accept of Leso as a pilot.

Having, without any trouble, got all our empty casks filled with fresh water and every other necessary supplied, we set sail at ten o'clock. At eight o'clock on the following evening we discovered fires on various parts of the coast of Matsmai; one of which was particularly large and blazing. We were soon met by a baidare, bearing a white flag and two lanterns, and on board of which was our faithful friend Tachatay-Kachi.— This proved a joyful meeting to both parties; for there was now every probability of our mutual wishes being fulfilled. He came by order of the Japanese Government to conduct us into the harbour of Chakodade. He was himself accompanied by a distinguished officer of the port. By their mutual direction we cast anchor, at half-past eight in the evening, in a place which is called by the Japanese YAMASEE-TOMUREE, and which is the common anchoring place for vessels when easterly winds prevent them from entering the harbour. When every necessary arrangement was made, we eagerly sat down to converse with the good Kachi,

with whom we communicated with more facility than before, as we had the assistance of the interpreter Kesseleff.

Our first question, of course, related to our countrymen. Kachi informed us that they were in Chakodade, and that the Bunyo of Matsmai, CHATTORI-BINGONO-KAMI, had already arrived in person for the purpose of concluding the negotiation and liberating the prisoners. We conversed together for a considerable time, and I gave an account of the total overthrow of the French, to which he listened with unfeigned interest. He then took his leave, promising that he would return next day to conduct the ship into the harbour. During the night, we observed fires burning on various parts of the coast, and a watch-boat rowed up to us and lay near the vessel as long as we remained there.

Kachi fulfilled his promise of returning early on the following morning. We sailed into the Bay of Chakodade, and, after a few hours, we cast anchor in a place which he pointed out, and which was scarcely the distance of a gun-shot from the city. He then acquainted me with the laws concerning European vessels; he stated that we could not be permitted to sail about the harbour in boats; that, as long as we remained there, a watch-boat would, day and night, be stationed near the vessel; that every thing we stood in need of would be conveyed to us by government vessels;

and that all persons were strictly prohibited from visiting us.

In the evening, he went on shore in order to draw up a circumstantial report of his proceedings.

The city of Chakodade, the second in magnitude on the island, is situated on its southern coast, on the declivity of a high circular hill, which rises above the peninsula there formed ; it is washed on the south by the Bay of Sangar, and on the north and west by the Bay of Chakodade, which is very convenient for receiving a large fleet. The peninsula forms its junction on the east by a narrow stripe of land, so that there is at once a view of both the open sea and the low grounds.

On the northern side of the bay, a spacious valley extends over a circuit of fifteen or twenty miles, bounded on three of its sides by hills. In the centre of this valley lies the village of Onno, the inhabitants of which are chiefly occupied in agriculture. The other villages which are situated on the coast, are, for the most part, inhabited by fishermen. We learned these particulars from our friends on their return, for they had been conducted about the city, and in their walks observed that this valley was better cultivated than any other district they had seen. The hill, at the foot of which the city is built, serves as an excellent landmark for ships entering the bay, as it is easily recognized at a distance by its circular form, and is detached from every other elevated object. On the

western side, this hill is formed of huge masses of rock, in one of which there is a cavity perceptible from the sea. The depth of water, close in land, is very considerable on the southern and western sides of the peninsula, but as there are neither sand-banks nor rocks to be apprehended, the coast may be approached without danger. There are, however, numerous sand-banks on the northern side, and consequently only small vessels can get up to the town. From the projecting cape opposite the town, a sand-bank of unequal depth extends one-third of the breadth of the bay. On the northern and eastern sides of the bay, the depth of the water gradually diminishes towards the shore.

As we approached the town, we observed that cloth was hung out only at a few places on the hill, or near it, and not over the whole buildings as at Kunashier. With the assistance of our telescopes, we observed six of these skreens of cloth, probably destined to conceal fortifications, which our countrymen had an opportunity of seeing on their way from Matsmai to Chakodade. There were, besides, five new fortifications erected along the coast, and provided with garrisons of suitable strength; they were, at short distances from each other, and about from two to three hundred fathoms from the shore.

We no sooner entered the roads than we were surrounded by a number of boats of all descriptions and sizes, filled with the curious of both

sexes. A European ship must, indeed, have been to them an object of uncommon interest ; for, as far as I could ascertain, they had seen none since they were visited twenty-two years before by Laxman, and Lowzoff, the commander of the Okotzk transport ship *Catharina*. Many of the inhabitants, therefore, never beheld a European vessel of any kind, and still less a ship of war ; they accordingly thronged around us in vast numbers, and their curiosity frequently gave rise to disputes among themselves. The DOSEENEE (Japanese soldiers), who were stationed in the watch-boats, continually called to them to keep at a farther distance. But so great was the confusion, that, though the people generally shew great respect to the soldiers, their orders were, on this occasion, disregarded. The military were, therefore, under the necessity of using the iron batoons, which they wear fastened to their girdles by long silken strings. They neither spared rank nor sex, old persons alone experienced their indulgence, and we had various opportunities of observing, that the Japanese, in all situations, pay particular respect to old age. In this case, blows were freely dealt out to the young of every description who ventured to disobey the commands of the soldiers, and we were, at length, delivered from a multitude of visitors who would have subjected us to no small degree of inconvenience. We should have been unable to move had they all been permitted to

come on board the vessel ; and to keep them out by force was a measure which we could not have adopted without reluctance, considering the favourable turn which our intercourse with the Japanese had taken. They were at last, however, compelled to withdraw to a certain distance indicated by the guards, and no boat dared to pass the boundary. In this way they covered a considerable portion of the bay, and when those who were most a-head had gratified their curiosity, their places were immediately occupied by the next in succession. They did not all depart until twilight ; after which, only those individuals who were sent by the government were allowed to approach our ship, and even they were subject to the examination of the watch-boat.

Next morning, we observed a boat with white flags\* standing towards us from the town. Tachatay-Kachi, with the sailor who had been our pilot, came on board in this boat, and brought presents of fish, vegetables and water-melons. The sailor carried a bundle, which I perceived contained clothes. Kachi begged that I would permit him to retire to his old cabin to dress, informing me that the Bunyo of Matsmai, who was highly satisfied with his services in Kunashier, had appointed him negotiator in this important affair, on

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\* I ought to have mentioned, that the white flag was constantly displayed along with the flag of war.

which occasion he had, according to the customs of Japan, been invested with certain privileges. In fulfilment of this duty, it was necessary that, during his communications with me, he should appear in the robes appropriate to his official situation. He accordingly withdrew, to attire himself, and in the meanwhile I put on my state uniform and hung my sword by my side. After a polite salutation, Kachi intimated, through our interpreter Kisseleff, that he did not now speak in the name of the Bunyo, but in the names of the two chief officers, who requested that I would deliver the official paper which I had engaged to bring from Okotzk. I replied that I was prepared to present it to the officers themselves, but that no time might be lost I would deliver it to Kachi. I assembled my officers in full uniform, in the cabin, to witness this proceeding, and with all due solemnity I presented to Kachi the official document from the Commandant of Okotzk, which was wrapped up in blue cloth. I, at the same time, stated that I had, in my possession, another important official letter from His Excellency the Governor of Irkutzk to the Most Powerful Bunyo of Matsmai, but which I could deliver only in my own person, either to the Bunyo or to some distinguished officer who might be sent to receive it. Tachatay-Kachi urgently solicited that I would give him this letter also, as it would procure him high honour in Japan when



it should be known that he was thought worthy of delivering into the hands of the OBUNYO an official document from a Russian Governor. But this I resolutely declined, observing that, though I loved him as a friend, yet I could not consent to any thing which might be thought derogatory to the dignity of the Governor of Irkutzk, nor betray the trust which had been reposed in me.

I now proposed that my interview with the Japanese authorities should take place on shore, but close to the sea, as I found it was impracticable to communicate with them in boats. According to Kachi's account, the people in the streets fell upon their knees whenever the two chief officers appeared in their *norimons* (sedan chairs); how then could we hope that they would consent to lay aside all their ceremonies and hold a conference in boats with the commander of a foreign ship? Besides, I had credentials from the Governor of Irkutzk. I was invested with full powers in conformity with the pleasure of my Sovereign, and consequently appeared in the character of an ambassador. If, therefore, the Japanese dared to act treacherously, I might be certain that my treatment would not be looked upon with indifference, but would be considered as a national concern. I had also the less reason to hesitate in fulfilling my mission in the usual manner, as I knew that the dignity of an ambassador was much respected in Japan.

Tachatay-Kachi begged that I would think

no more about his indiscreet request, and then went ashore. He returned next day, dressed himself as before, and, in the name of the two principal officers, inquired whether the crew of the *Diana* stood in need of any thing, or whether the ship itself required repairs, as she had probably suffered damage during her long voyage, at that late season of the year. I returned my thanks, and observed that we had a good supply of every thing, except fresh water, fish and vegetables (all of which abounded in Chakodade), and that the ship was in a state of perfect repair. Kachi then informed me that he had delivered the official document, from the Commandant of Okotzk, with all due ceremony; that its contents were deemed satisfactory, and that my proposal to hold an interview with the commandant, in order to present the letter from the Governor of Irkutsk, had been assented to. He added that the object of his present visit was to arrange the ceremonies which it would be necessary to observe during this conference; and, in the first place, to settle respecting the guard of honour. I observed that I would bring on shore with me ten men, armed with muskets; that two petty officers should precede me, carrying the war-flag and the white flag of truce; and that I should be accompanied by two commissioned officers and the interpreter. I besides consented to be rowed ashore in the Governor's state barge. After a mutual salutation, which on my

side was to be made in the European manner, by a bow, an arm chair was to be placed for me, and behind it two common chairs for my officers. During the introductory address, whether proceeding from the Japanese or myself, I was, as a mark of respect, to stand, and then immediately to take my seat. With the exception of the muskets, Kachi observed, that all these regulations would be readily agreed to ; “ But,” said he, “ we know of no instance in which a foreign ambassador, whatever might be the object of his mission to Japan, has been suffered to present himself at a ceremonial conference with a retinue bearing fire arms. Be satisfied with the same mark of respect which has been shewn to other European ambassadors in Nangasaky ; namely, that the men composing your suite shall be permitted to wear their swords ; but let them leave their muskets behind them. To allow your ship to sail into our innermost harbour, armed and provided with powder, and thus to leave you the means of injuring us if you pleased, though the first is by no means a slight departure from our laws.”

As I was well convinced that favours had been conceded to us which no other European ship had ever enjoyed, I was prepared to yield the point with respect to the muskets : and I merely observed to Kachi that a guard without muskets was not a guard of war, and was consequently beneath my rank as commander of a Russian imperial ship.

“With us,” said I, “only men in the military and naval service are permitted to carry muskets, in the same manner as such persons wear two sabres in Japan; our muskets therefore correspond exactly with your two sabres.” But I added that if this proposition were objected to, he need not insist upon it, and that I would go on shore upon the other conditions being agreed to. Having made memorandums of all that passed between us, he took his leave. On the following day he came with a joyful countenance, to inform me that every thing was settled, even the point respecting the muskets. “At first,” said he, “our officers were all silent; but after they had considered the matter for some time, I repeated all your arguments, one after the other; and I am now directed to inform you that the two first officers will expect you to-morrow, at the place appointed on the shore, to receive from your hands the letter from the Governor of Irkutsk. At twelve o’clock the Governor’s state barge will be ready to receive you. One thing only remains to be arranged: you can on no account whatever appear in boots in the audience-chamber, which has been covered with fine carpets; on which the high officers will sit down cross-legged. To appear there in boots would be quite repugnant to our customs, and would be a most unwarrantable indecorum. You must consequently leave your boots in the anti-chamber, and enter only in your stockings.”

I was somewhat embarrassed by this singular proposal, which was so opposite to every European notion of propriety. In making arrangements for the ceremonies, I had never once thought of mentioning my boots. The Japanese, on the other hand, likewise thought it superfluous to say a word on the subject; for, as Captain Golownin afterwards informed me, their demand referred merely to a common act of politeness. I replied, with some degree of warmth, that I would never consent to appear in full uniform, with a sword by my side and without either boots or shoes. I observed to Kachi that I was well aware it was customary with the Japanese to take off their shoes even before they entered a common apartment; "but," said I, "you, who are an intelligent man, cannot but know how widely your customs differ from those of European nations. Your countrymen, for instance, instead of trowsers, wear a loose dress resembling our night-gowns, and in which no European gentleman would suffer himself to be seen, except in his bed-chamber. You never enter a strange house with your shoes on; whereas to go barefooted would, with us, be esteemed rude and even disgraceful, and only befitting the lowest of criminals. How then can you expect that a man of my rank should comply with such a custom?"

Tachatay-kachi could make no reply; he had never for a moment bestowed a thought on this

important point. I reflected for a few moments, and then declared that I would endeavour to comply with all that was required, in order that no obstacle might stand in the way of the proposed conference. "In Russia," continued I, "it is customary, when we wish to shew particular respect to any person of distinction, to exchange our boots for shoes in the anti-chamber." "That is sufficient," exclaimed Kachi, joyfully, "no violation of the rules of politeness need be made by either party. Your shoes may easily be compared to our Japanese half-stockings; and I will say that you agree to take off your boots, and to appear in the audience-chamber in leather stockings." He immediately went ashore, and to my astonishment returned in the evening, to inform me that the officers were highly satisfied with my arrangement respecting the leather stockings. He added that if, however, I absolutely insisted on appearing in boots I might do so; though, in that case, the officers instead of receiving me on their knees, must sit on chairs after the European manner; which, in Japan, is regarded as a great mark of disrespect and even rudeness.

He then produced a drawing of the building, in which it was proposed the interview should take place. In front of the edifice, a number of soldiers were sketched, sitting cross-legged. In the first apartment were the officers of inferior rank. Here I was to draw off my boots, and then

pass by a row of officers likewise sitting cross-legged. At the upper end of the hall of audience, the places for the two chief officers were marked out ; on the left the interpreter, on the right an academician, who had arrived for the express purpose of making observations on the Russian ship of war, and collecting particulars respecting European science. My place was marked out in the centre of the hall, facing the high authorities, and behind me were chairs for my two officers. The guards, with muskets and flags, were sketched in front of the open doors of the building.

Every thing being thus arranged, Kachi took his leave, promising, if the weather should prove favourable, to return at twelve o'clock next day to escort me in the state barge.

I now turned my thoughts to our interpreter Kisseleff, whom it was necessary I should take ashore along with me. I was well aware of the severity of the laws of Japan towards subjects who have become christians and lived in foreign countries. Kisseleff, in the letter which he translated, had described himself to be a native of Russia, though the son of a Japanese woman ; yet it appeared probable that his perfect knowledge of the Japanese language would immediately betray him, and in that case, the consequences might have been fatal. I left it to his own free choice whether or not he would incur the danger, and he replied : “ What have I to fear ? If they detain you, they detain us

all. They will not seize me alone. I am no Japanese, and intreat that you will take me with you, in order that I may have an opportunity of fulfilling my duty. The conference will be of the highest importance ; but I can be of no service to you by remaining on board the ship. To what purpose did I encounter the dangers of this long voyage, if I am now to be left behind." I gladly consented to take him with me ; and I gave orders that the two officers who, of their own accord, had offered to accompany me should hold themselves in readiness.

Next day, at twelve o'clock, the state-barge was sent out with a number of flags waving on board. Tachatay-kachi appeared in full costume, and informed me that we should depart whenever the flag was displayed from the building in which the conference was to take place. The flag was unfurled precisely at twelve o'clock, and we went on board the barge. The barge was rowed by sixteen chosen Japanese, most of whom, as Kachi informed me, were eminent and wealthy merchants who had seized that opportunity of gratifying their curiosity. Their manner of rowing differs from the European, in this, that they do not throw the blade of the oar forward, but keep, merely turning it about ; and yet, the boat is moved with as much velocity as would be produced by our method. We had fixed our war flag along with the Japanese flags in the stern ; at the prow, however,



we hoisted the white flag of truce, and in this manner we rowed towards the town, accompanied by several hundred boats filled with spectators. The building in which the conference was to take place, was situated close to the shore, near a stone landing place. In the front of the house we observed a number of Japanese soldiers sitting according to custom on the ground. Tachatay-Kachi was the first who stepped out of the barge ; he proceeded immediately to the house, to inform the high officers of our arrival, and soon returned to intimate that every thing was prepared for our reception. To have enquired why no Japanese officer had been dispatched to meet me, seemed then, an untimely and useless question ; I therefore ordered the petty officer, who was the bearer of the white flag, to land next to the ten marines under arms, and the other petty officer to follow with the war flag ; I then stepped out of the barge followed by two commiossined officers. The marines ranged themselves in front of the open doors, and saluted me in the military style as I passed. In the entrance hall, my shoes were put on by Japanese attendants, one of whom carried a chair behind me. I then entered the audience-chamber, which was filled with officers of various ranks, all wearing their military dress and two sabres. I was somewhat surprised at the dead silence which prevailed throughout the apartment. On observing the two chief officers who were sitting

near each other crossed legged, I advanced towards them and bowed. They returned my salutation by an inclination of the head. I then bowed to the right and left, and took my seat in the chair which had been placed for me. Uninterrupted silence prevailed for the space of some minutes. I was the first to break it by observing through the Interpreter Kisseleff, that I considered myself in presence of friends. Instead of making any reply, the two chief officers laughed ; but the elder of the two, who had come from Kumashier, opened the conference by turning to an officer who sat on his left, and who, while addressed, inclined his head towards the ground ; but the superior spoke in so low a tone of voice, that Kisseleff could not collect a word he said. The officer who had listened in the manner I have described, having resumed his former attitude, after a respectful salutation, to my great astonishment, addressed me in tolerably good Russian. He was, as I afterwards learnt, the Interpreter MURAKAMI-TISKE, who had been taught Russian by Captain Golownin. “ The Russians,” said he, “ some time ago, occasioned great disturbances on the coasts of Japan, but all is now happily settled. The certificate of the Natschalnik of Okotzk is very, very satisfactory.” I answered through himself as interpreter, that by the happy settlement of which he spoke the liberation of our prisoners, was doubtless to be understood, which for our part,

would repay all the hardships we had endured by a day of joy.

After some interchange of compliments, I proceeded to call the attention of the superior officers to the letter of the Governor of Irkutsk, which Savelieff handed to me in a box covered with a purple cloth. I took it out, read the address aloud, and returned it. Savelieff having replaced the letter, handed the box to the interpreter, who elevated it above his head, and then placed it in the hands of the junior of the two great officers. The latter raised it to the height of his breast, and delivered it to the senior officer, who stated that he would immediately present it to the Bunyo, and that, in consideration of the importance of the document, two days would be necessary for preparing the answer. The presents which were handed by Savelieff to the Japanese Interpreter, were laid before the officers. They both requested that I would accept of some refreshments, which were prepared in the house, stood up, bowed towards me, and withdrew with the presents. The interpreter Murakami-Teske, then welcomed us in a very friendly manner, addressed me by my Russian name and said: "God be thanked! that I can  
" now congratulate you on a happy settlement.  
" Captain Golownin and the other Russians will  
" soon be sent on board to you; our laws do  
" not permit that you should yet meet—but they

“are all well.” The Academician also congratulated us and our worthy friend Tachatay-Kachi; who, during the ceremony, had stood at the extremity of the chamber, now approached. We were treated with tea and sweetmeats served on lackered trays. I was distinguished by having an officer of subaltern rank placed by my side, who received whatever was destined for me and presented it. After having been on shore two hours, we took leave and returned on board with Kachi. I had ordered Lieutenant Filatoff to decorate the ship with flags as soon as he saw us land, but not to fire, as I knew that the Japanese would not be pleased with that compliment; for they say it is very absurd in the Europeans to make the firing of cannon, which are engines of destruction, a mark of honor and respect. There are, however, instances of the practice among themselves; for the Prince of Sindaisk is saluted with rounds of artillery on leaving or entering his principality.

The day was fine, and the decoration of the ship with flags, afforded a delightful spectacle to the curious of both sexes, who crowded out in boats to view it. Thus ended, to the satisfaction of both parties, our conference with the Japanese authorities, during which the Russian imperial flag, which then waved, in consequence of national negotiations, for the first time, on the territory of this haughty people, received due honors. The select escort which accompanied me had sworn not to

allow the sacred imperial standard to pass from their hands while one of them remained alive.

We must again gratefully acknowledge that the enlightened and generous Tachatay-Kachi was on this occasion of great use to us. Two days passed away without any communication from the high authorities; but Kachi visited us twice a day accompanied by some of his friends whom the government gave him permission to bring on board. These visits were extremely agreeable to us, as they afforded us opportunities of testifying to Kachi how much we considered ourselves obliged to him. We offered his friends presents, but they would accept only of some trifles, and not even of them, without the permission of Kachi.

On the third day in the morning, Kachi came on board, with his countenance sparkling with joy, to inform me that I might have a conference with Captain Golownin and the other Russian prisoners. What a joyful message! though we had been permitted to write to Captain Golownin; yet, we received only short notes in return, or acknowledgements of the receipt of our letters. This plainly proved that the Japanese inspected what he wrote, and thus obliged him to observe great caution in his correspondence. Towards evening, Tachatay-Kachi brought us an irrefragable proof of his having seen our friends: namely, a letter in which Captain Golownin expressed satisfaction at being introduced to his acquaintance. On the fol-

lowing day, Kachi overjoyed me by the intimation that I might go on shore that day, and would find my friend Golownin and two of his sailors in the same edifice in which the solemn conference with the Japanese authorities had been held. The Interpreter Murakami-Teske, the Academician, and some officers of inferior rank, were to be present at this meeting. The Governor's barge was to convey me on shore, and I was at liberty to take with me the same number of armed men as on the first occasion. With regard to the last suggestion, I answered: As this is to be merely a private interview, I will leave the two flags in the boat, and only take on shore with me the ship's clerk and five unarmed sailors, in order that they may enjoy the pleasure of seeing two of their old shipmates. Next morning at ten o'clock, Kachi came for me, and I went on shore with him and the men I had promised to take in the governor's barge.

As we approached the shore, I saw Golownin at the door of the edifice in a rich yellow dress with his sword by his side. I instantly forgot all attention to ceremony; did not allow Tachatay-Kachi to precede me, but leaped first on shore myself. Had I not served so long with Golownin, and lived in friendly intercourse with him, I certainly should not have recognized him in his *habilliments*; but I knew him among a crowd of Japanese, and the joy of our first embrace may be

imagined, but cannot be described. He had almost ceased to hope to see his country again, and I had scarcely ventured to hope that it would fall to my lot to deliver him.—Now, however, we were locked in each others arms. The delicacy of the Japanese made them desirous not to disturb the transport of our feelings ; they accordingly drew back and chatted to each other.

At first we could only express ourselves in unconnected questions and answers ; but when we became somewhat tranquil, we spoke on the main object of our meeting, for which, sufficient time was allowed us. Golownin, in a few words, related what he had suffered ; and, in return, required from me an account of the situation of his country, his friends and his relatives. He then shewed me that I had formed an erroneous opinion on a very important point. The bad state of the ship had induced me to cherish the idea of wintering in Chakodade, as it appeared hazardous to return, at that late period of the year, to Kamtschatka. Golownin, however, observed that, according to the Japanese laws, we would be considered prisoners, and that it was therefore necessary to hasten our departure ; and on his advice I wrote to that effect to the Japanese authorities. We took leave of each other, full of the hope of speedily meeting, never to be again so separated.

In the evening I had the pleasure of a visit from Kachi. He had been present at my interview

with Golownin, but, in the midst of it, he came up to me and said: "I am not well—excuse me," and went away. The sailors who accompanied me, and who never could place any faith in the Japanese, were alarmed at Kachi's withdrawing, particularly as in passing he had bid them, as they thought, in a very serious manner, farewell: they firmly believed that the Japanese were going to arrest me.

On this occasion Kachi brought a youth on board with him, and intimated that he had something wonderful to tell me. On returning home yesterday, he said, he very unexpectedly found—he would leave me to guess whom—his son! "Look at him," said Kachi, "is he not like me? Through him I have obtained the most joyful tidings of my wife. She returned, in good health, from her pilgrimage, and she had scarcely entered her apartment, scarcely laid aside her travelling-dress, when she received, by post, the letter I wrote to her on our arrival at Kunashier." I expressed a sincere wish for the future happiness of my friend and his affectionate wife. These events confirmed him still more in his belief of predestination to which he was much devoted. I paid particular attention to his son; ordered that he should be shewn every part of the ship, and introduced him to my officers who, with the assistance of Kisseleff, carried on a friendly conversation with him. Kachi, in the mean time, gave me an account of his friend the hermit.



“*Taisho*!” said he, “men are to be found in Japan without the help of a lantern.\*—How do you think I can make a return to my friend? He despises riches; I must do something worthy of his greatness of soul. You know I have a daughter but owing to her misconduct, I have forbidden her to bear my name. To me she has long since been numbered with the dead. You have taken a great interest in her fate; I have always been deeply moved whenever you entreated that I would become reconciled to her: perhaps you thought your friendship slighted because I remained inexorable; but you knew not the customs of our country, nor were you aware that you required a sacrifice of my honour.”†

“Now,” continued he, “since I possess so invaluable a treasure in my friend, who has withdrawn himself from the world, I will make a sacrifice as rare as his friendship—a sacrifice which,

\* He alluded to the story of Diogenes, which I had related to him in Kamtschatka, and with which he was highly pleased. In general he was deeply interested by examples of virtue and greatness of soul, such as the conduct of the celebrated Dolgoruki, when he tore the ukase of Peter the Great. Whenever he listened to that anecdote he would place his hand on his head in token of veneration, and exclaim, with emotion, “*Okee, okee!*” (Great, great!) Then pressing his hand to his heart he would say, *Kusuri!* (medicine!) A term by which he was accustomed to designate any dish that particularly pleased him, and of which he wished to express his admiration.

† I had, indeed, frequently so moved him that he shed tears; but his resolution remained unaltered.

according to our ideas of honour, is the severest wound that the heart of a father can endure. I have resolved to call my daughter into life, and to forgive her. I need only communicate this determination to my friend, and he will understand me."

He then requested that I would permit him to distribute the property he had on board the ship among the seamen. This he did in person; giving those articles which were of highest value to such of the crew as he was best acquainted with, particularly our cook, whom he used to call his friend: for, though he honoured my dishes of morality with the title of *kusuri*, yet he was not insensible that he needed food for the body as well as the mind, and that the former was also *kusuri* to him. The articles he gave away consisted of silk and cotton dresses, large wadded quilts and night-gowns, and they were so numerous that every man on board received a present of some kind or other. He then requested that the sailors might be allowed to make merry that evening. "Taiseho," said he, "sailors are all alike, whether Russian or Japanese: they are all fond of a glass; and there is no danger in the harbour of Chakodade." Though I had, on that joyful day, already ordered a double allowance of grog to be served out to the crew; yet I could not decline complying with the request of the good Kachi. He immediately sent his sailors on shore to pro-

cure saki; and, according to the Japanese custom, ordered them to bring pipes and a paper of tobacco for each of our seamen. I conducted him to the cabin, where I had previously laid out the presents which had been sent with the embassy. They consisted of painted porcelain, marble slabs and crystal vessels of various descriptions. "Now," said I, "fulfil the promise which you made in Kunashier. Take whatever you like best. Or, since your officers despise our presents, take them all to yourself." "To what purpose should I accept of the costly things," he said, with all the sincerity of friendship, "since, according to our laws, they must all be taken from me, and the government will merely indemnify me with money."

With considerable difficulty I, at length, prevailed on him to accept of a few trifles. He chose what pleased him best, namely, a pair of silver spoons, two knives and other articles for the table; but he was particularly delighted on my presenting him with a tea-service. "I can now," said he, "entertain my friends after the Russian fashion, in remembrance of the hospitality I have experienced among you." In general he expressed himself pleased with our mode of living, and though he could not always sit at table with us, because the Japanese do not eat butchers' meat, yet he had his meats served up at the same time, and always took tea with us. He generally drank

his tea without sugar, but he eat large quantities of the latter separately.

We remained together until midnight. When about to withdraw he expressed his regret that the Japanese laws did not allow him to invite and entertain us at his own house ; since we might also wish to possess some *chasces* and *sagasukes*,\* as memorials of Japanese hospitality.

On the following day we were much concerned to hear that Tachatay-Kachi had caught a severe cold, in consequence of his frequent communications with the *Diana*, having obliged him to be so much on the water. We were therefore visited by the young interpreter, who was sent by the high officers to inform us that on the following morning, Golownin and the rest of the prisoners would be sent on board. In confirmation of this message, he brought a letter from Golownin, by which it appeared that they had all been carried before the Bunyo : who, in the presence of a numerous assembly, had formally announced their liberation. The high officers requested that I would, next morning, go once more on shore, to hold a conference with them, to take charge of my liberated countrymen, and to receive the papers which had been prepared for me.

As a proof that I implicitly relied on the ho-

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\* Lackered cups and small pieces of wood, which the Japanese use instead of knives and forks.

nour of the Japanese Government, I informed our welcome messenger that I would go ashore without guards, and merely in a boat bearing white flags, in order to convince the people that the liberation of our countrymen had been effected without any kind of force whatever. The interpreter, with some other visitors, who had been attracted by curiosity, remained with us until night, and we now, for the first time, succeeded in persuading our guests to receive a few tokens of friendship. Our presents, on this occasion, consisted of pieces of Spanish leather, which the Japanese prized beyond any thing else we could have offered them.

The 7th of October was the happy day on which all our difficulties were to be amply requited. Tachatay-Kachi arrived very early, in the Governor's barge. Owing to indisposition he appeared in his ordinary dress. On my expressing some apprehensions on account of his health, he replied, "Never fear! Joy has already made me better, and when I see you and Golownin rowing towards the ship, I shall be quite well again."

He assured us, that the Bunyo was much pleased with the frank confidence which I had placed in the honour of the Japanese. At twelve o'clock, I went on board the barge, accompanied only by Savelieff and Kisseleff, and rowed, under white flags, to the well-known edifice, where the Japanese were in waiting to receive us. Our pri-

soners immediately appeared at the door. They all wore yellow dresses of a uniform cut, with seamen's trowsers and waistcoats of various colours. The officers' dresses were made of a material resembling our figured silk stuffs, those of the sailors consisted of taffety. The Kurile, Alexei, wore a dress of dark-coloured silk, made in the Japanese form. To complete this whimsical costume, the officers wore their swords and uniform hats. On any other occasion, we should have been highly diverted by the singularity of their appearance, but now it did not even excite a smile. Friend gazed at friend with emotion and joy, and our thoughts were expressed more by our looks than by words. Tears of gratitude to Providence glistened in the eyes of our liberated countrymen. The Japanese retired and left us for some time alone, in order that we might give vent to our feelings. My countrymen were then formally delivered over to me by the two Gimmiyaks, Takahassi-Sampey and Cood-Simoto-Chiogoro. The papers of the Japanese government, which I was to lay before the authorities on my arrival in Russia, were presented to me with the ceremonies which have already been described by Captain Golownin. Refreshments were then handed to us in the usual manner.

Having once more expressed our sincere thanks, we rowed from the shore at two o'clock, accompanied by a countless number of boats.

crowded with Japanese of both sexes. Notwithstanding a violent adverse wind, none of the numerous boats by which we were surrounded put back. The *Diana* was decorated with flags, and all the yards were manned by the crew who saluted us with three cheers. The enthusiasm of the seamen, on once more beholding their beloved Commander and his companions in misfortune, after a separation of two years and three months, was indeed boundless. Many melted into tears. This scene, so highly honourable to the whole crew, can never be effaced from my recollection. Golownin and his companions, who were moved to their inmost souls, knelt down before the sacred image of the ship (the miracle-working SAINT NICOLAS), and returned thanks to heaven.

A number of boats now came alongside, bringing fresh water, wood, one thousand large radishes, fifty boxes filled with grits, thirty with salt, and, in short, provisions of every description though none had been asked on our part. When we declared that we stood in no need of these supplies, the Japanese replied that they had been ordered to provide the prisoners with provisions sufficient to last them until they reached Kamtschatka. To avoid any thing like dispute I accepted of all that was sent. A considerable time was spent in unloading the boats. Many of the Japanese, whom the DOSEENEE now permitted to come on board the vessel, set to work

so zealously, that it was difficult to say which most deserved admiration:—the pleasure with which our seamen worked, or the obliging manner in which the Japanese assisted them. They appeared as one people, and no spectator could have supposed that between their native homes half the circumference of the globe intervened! Civility, kindness, good humour and activity animated all. They reciprocally treated each other with brandy and saki; and, in the midst of their labours, they enjoyed a holiday!

Some Japanese officers, of the rank of *Shtoyagu*, came on board to visit us. Among them were the interpreters, the *Shtoyagu* MURAKAMI-TESKE and the *Saidshu* KUMADDSCHERO. The former spoke Russian much better than the latter, and also possessed more general information. They were accompanied by the academician and an interpreter of the Dutch language, the latter of whom had been in Nangasky when RESANOFF and KRUSENSTERN visited that port in the *Nadeschda*. He recollected several of the Russian officer's names, and also spoke some Russian and understood French. We entertained them in the European stile, in the cabin, and they examined every part of the ship with the greatest attention. Towards evening, a multitude of Japanese came on board, but all men, for now to our mortification the women were not permitted to enter the ship. The deck was so crowded that our seamen could not



move a step without difficulty, and the **DOSSENEE** were, at last, obliged to employ their iron batoons in driving their countrymen into the boats, whence the women looked anxiously up as if they wished to have a share in the bustle. To console them we handed some trifles down to them, for which they returned thanks by very expressive gestures.

On the 10th of October, when all was ready for our departure, the government sent us a quantity of vegetables and fresh and salt fish. I had just given orders for weighing the anchor when **Tachatay-Kachi** appeared, with a number of boats, which he brought to tow us from the harbour into the bay. The old interpreter and several of **Golownin's** acquaintances also came out in a large boat and accompanied us to the mouth of the bay. The ship's company took farewell of our Japanese friends, by cheering them; and, as a mark of sincere gratitude to **Kachi**, they gave—**THE TAISHO!** **HURRAH!** in three separate and additional cheers. **Kachi** and his sailors stood up in their boat and returned the cheers, calling as loud as they were able—**THE DIANA!** **HURRAH!**

We had to encounter a heavy storm, of six hours duration, on the Japanese coast. Our situation was extremely dangerous; the night was dark and the rain fell in a torrent. The water in the hold rose to forty inches, notwithstanding that we kept the pumps constantly at work. At last, the storm moderated, and, in the midst of a shower

of snow, we happily entered the harbour of Petropaulowskoi on the 3rd of September.

On the 6th of November, we held our last thanksgiving on board the ship, and proceeded to the barracks which we had occupied in the preceding winter, with the consoling reflection, that having now completed our labours, we should soon return to our friends and relatives, from whom we had been separated during seven years, that time having elapsed since we took our departure from Petersburgh.

Thus ended our first communication with a people who, through unfortunate circumstances and the misrepresentations of the selfish Dutch, had been impressed with so unfavourable an opinion of the Russians, that we even entertained apprehensions lest our prisoners should be put to death. Providence, however, watched over their safety, and their misfortune has effected what human wisdom deemed impracticable. Two great empires, hitherto almost unknown to each other, have made a vast step towards future intercourse; and there is even ground to hope, that a further approximation, advantageous for both nations, may take place between them.

As I had reason to fear that our worn-out vessel might founder in the harbour of Petropaulowskoi, like the ship which had served in the expedition of Captain Billings, we run her right ashore on the beach. The *Diana*, no longer able

to contend with the waves of the ocean, now serves as a magazine, and will be a memorial of former times. It seems probable, that these shores, celebrated by the voyages of *Cook* and *La Perouse*, and the geographical situation of which is so advantageous for trade, will become better known to the neighbouring Asiatic nations, and be visited by navigators from the most distant corners of the world. Then will the *Diana* perhaps often engage the attention of those who love to reflect on the wonderful course of human events

On the day of our arrival at Petropaulowskoi all was cheerfulness in our little circle, with one exception—the unfortunate Moor alone presented a different aspect. His conduct arose from error, not from turpitude of heart or any settled design of treason to his country. Being bereft of all hope of returning to Russia and flattered with the idea of obtaining freedom among the Japanese, he was induced to depart from the path of honour. When circumstances unexpectedly changed, he became every day more and more depressed in spirits, and finally yielded to despair. A man of ordinary mind might easily have been brought to forget his own errors ; but a heart in which every honourable sentiment had been deeply rooted, was for ever poisoned by a single offence. When he first came on board the ship, after his liberation, I eagerly advanced to embrace him ; but he shrunk back, and, reaching his sword out to me, ex-

claimed, in a faltering voice, "I am unworthy of your notice! I am only fit to be confined with criminals!" What a blow to a heart which, like mine, had just been so completely transported with joy! I feared lest the seamen might observe what was passing, and suddenly collecting myself took the sword, and said, "I receive it as a memorial of this happy day." I then conducted him to the cabin, where Captain Golownin and Mr. Chlebnikoff were expressing their gratitude to the officers of the vessel. Golownin presented to me his sword; the same which, during his captivity, the Emperor of Japan had expressed a wish to see, and I now preserve it as the most valuable reward of my enterprise. To the officers he gave his telescopes, pistols and astronomical instruments. He gave to the senior non-commissioned officer one hundred rubles; to the juniors seventy-five; to each seaman twenty-five, and to the sailors who had been his companions in captivity five hundred rubles each. But to Makaroff who, as the reader knows, was of particular use to him, he besides granted a pension, amounting to a seaman's annual pay, from his estate in the government of Casan. To the Kurile, Alexei, he gave a set of carpenter's tools, a rifle, powder, shot, tobacco and two hundred and fifty rubles in money. Even Moor took occasion to express his gratitude; but he constantly turned to me with the words "I am unworthy!" Golownin frequently entreated him to

forget what had passed, as he had himself blotted it all from his recollection ; but Mr. Moor was overwhelmed with remorse. The exhortations of friendship produced no effect upon him ; and he generally maintained a gloomy silence. The rest is known to the reader. Moor was a young man of extraordinary talent, and always distinguished himself in the performance of his duty. To all the qualifications of a seaman, in their fullest extent, he joined the possession of other sciences ; was familiar with several foreign languages, and spoke two fluently. With such a character and such accomplishments it was impossible not to love him, and I am confident that all who knew him will participate in the sorrow of his old shipmates for the unhappy termination of his career.

FINIS.

REFERENCE



## ERRATA.

- Vol. 1..page 42..line 5..for *our* read *their*.  
                   139          21..insert *a* before *cotton*.  
                   191          18..insert *us* after *occasioned*.  
 Vol. 2..page 256..line 26..insert a comma after the word *trouble*.

## EXPLANATION

*Of Words and Terms, chiefly Russian, which occur in the preceding Work.*

*Baidar* or *Baidare*—a kind of boat used in the Kurile Islands and on the Coasts of Japan.

*Copek*—the hundredth part of a ruble, in value about a halfpenny.

*Eessaul*—a chief or officer.

*Hairy Kuriles*—A race of men who inhabit the Kurile Islands, and whose bodies are covered with short hairs.

*Isprawnik*—the captain or chief of a district.

*Kibitka*—a kind of travelling carriage.

*Kwass*—a strong liquor.

*Natschalnik*—chief commander.

*Parkis*—large cloaks made of the skins of quadrupeds or birds.

*Pood*—one pood contains 40 Russian or 36 English lbs.

*Ruble*—a ruble is in general worth about 4s. 2d., but the value varies according to the course of exchange.

*Step* or *steppe*—a desert or extensive heath.

*Tschetwerik*—the 8th part of a tschetwert, which is equal to  $5\frac{3}{26}$  Winchester bushels.

*Werst* or *verst*—a measure of length containing 500 sazshens or fathoms, each 7 feet English—Two English miles are equal to about 3 Russian wersts.

*N. B.*—When the depth of water is expressed in fathoms, the measure is 6 feet the same as the English fathom.

The Russians frequently use patronymics in the names of persons,—forming the patronymic, in the case of persons of quality, by the addition of *vitsch* or *itsch* to the Christian name of the father. Thus CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN is sometimes called WASSILI MICHAELOVITSCH, and so with others.

The Japanese words are all explained as they occur.

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